fluence of the *Inca* culture upon Araucanian . . . does not ap- 174
pear to have been very profound."[2]

THE SPANISH PERIOD, 1536–1810

Araucanian contacts with Spaniards fall into two parts. The 175
first, especially in the century between 1541 and 1641, was 648
marked by savage and almost perpetual warfare. The second, from 1641 to 1810, was relatively less violent and consisted of stretches of peace, intermittently broken by bitter fighting.

Active warfare commenced in 1541, as soon as Pedro de Valdivia began his Chilean campaigns. His forces quickly overran the region between the Río Maule and the Río Bío Bío (Map 1), but Araucanian resistance intensified when the Spaniards tried to penetrate into the rainy and forested country south of the Bío Bío. The Mapuche, led by their great tribal heroes Lautaro and Caupolicán, whose exploits are celebrated in Ercilla's poem, *La Araucana*, simply would not acknowledge defeat and even succeeded in killing Valdivia in 1553. After many more years of continuous fighting, Spain finally recognized the independence of the Indians and concluded the pact of Quillín on January 9, 1641, in which the Bío Bío was formally recognized as the northern limit of Araucanian territory. Thereupon, the era of incessant fighting gradually came to an end, and until the Chilean war of independence began in 1810: "Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerilla raids . . . and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general."[3]

Despite their bloody opposition to the Spaniards, the Arau- 175
canians were strongly influenced by Spanish culture. In a suc- 177
cinct summary of this situation Latcham has written: "The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants, other domestic animals [especially, horses and oxen], a fuller use of metals, and a considerable change in the tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel

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[2] Cooper, 1946, p. 696. A strong dissent from the prevailing point of view is registered in Guevara, 1929, I: 143–87.

[3] Brand, 1941*a*, p. 19.

175 the invader."[4] Latcham also emphasized the devastating effects
177 that resulted from the introduction of powerful spirituous liquors.

EARLY DECADES OF THE REPUBLIC, 1810–1884

175 It will be recalled that the pact of Quillín, in 1641, had formally established the Río Bío Bío as the northern frontier of Araucanian territory. Throughout the years that followed, and despite numerous violations of the arrangement by both sides, the Bío Bío continued to be regarded as the northern boundary of Araucanía, and this alignment was specifically confirmed by treaty at the date of Chilean independence.[5] Curiously enough, as Mark Jefferson pointed out, no southern border to Indian-held land was named in the treaty,[6] but Araucanía was unofficially understood to terminate at the latitude of Valdivia, where the forests end and open country begins. Thus, in the decade or so following 1810, while Chile was struggling to make good her drive for independence from Spain, the wooded area between the Bío Bío and Valdivia was left to the Araucanians. This was the stretch approximately one hundred and fifty miles in length that comprised Araucanía or the Frontera.

175 At about the same time that the formation of the Chilean
648 republic was taking place, the long-continued resistance of the Mapuche to white encroachment began to decrease. This does not imply that no native revolts occurred after 1810, but it does suggest that after a record of nearly three hundred years of bitter fighting, even the most obdurate of the nineteenth-century Araucanians must have realized that they could not hope to eliminate their hated rivals. In addition, although the Mapuche still resisted any mass penetration of their region, they were becoming subjected to a new kind of unofficial infiltration. This was brought about by the entrance of Chilean squatters who were willing to risk their lives in the hope of improving their lot, and by the incursion of outlaws and despera-

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[4] Latcham, 1909, p. 335.

[5] Jefferson, 1921, p. 29.

[6] *Ibid.* It was not until 1852 that the Toltén River was officially declared to be the southern limit of the Frontera.

423 This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of 423 natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 622 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional prac- 648 tices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.[7] This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that sly commoners took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

423 New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of 648 affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide 551 the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of 553 these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

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[7] It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lonko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

292 On festive days, or when going into town in the summer
months, women of all ages like to wear old-fashioned dress and
301 ornaments. In addition to the blouse, *chamal*, belt, apron, and
shawl, they put narrow bands of colored silk ribbon across the
head from front to back. These strips of ribbon take the place of
a kerchief and are held in position by a band of metal disks,
known as a *trarūloñko*, that encircles the head above the ears
(Pl. IV, Fig. 2). The hair is worn at the back in two long braids,
between which a single bright ribbon may be tied to form a sort
of *H*. Earrings are much in favor, and against the breast is
worn a large pendant called a *trapelakucha*. Both the *trarūloñko*
and the *trapelakucha* used to be fashioned of silver, and women
who own such heirlooms wear them proudly. Recently, however,
these ornaments have been made of baser metals such as nickel.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

●[177] In no regard is the transitional character of Araucanian cul-
283 ture more notable than in the field of native technology. Until
recent times the Mapuche practiced a wide range of arts and
286 crafts, but today the only activity of the sort that survives
everywhere is the spinning of wool and weaving on hand looms.
[462] Nearly all women learn to spin and weave. In their spare time
they make many things for home use and can always find a
market in town for the surplus. From numerous references in
28 the literature one gathers that Araucanian craftsmen formerly
32 manufactured many objects of stone and wood, and that many
of them were fine basketmakers, potters, and silversmiths.[23] At
463 present, a specialist here and there continues one or another of
the traditional crafts,[24] and the others purchase what they want

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[23] A large body of literature is devoted to Araucanian arts and crafts. Many references may be found in Cooper, 1946, pp. 713–19; and in Brand, 1941*a*, pp. 29–33. Good studies of stone and wood work, basketry, and pottery are available in Joseph, 1931*a*. For weaving, see Lothrop, 1930; Joseph, 1931*b*; and Oyarzún and Latcham, 1928. Silver work is described in Fontecilla, 1946. Guevara (1929, II: 247–85) provided a general treatment of native industries.

[24] At Cautinche, for example, even the custom of weaving has almost gone out of existence. A number of women still weave at Carrarrile and

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One cannot study the economics and material culture of the contemporary Araucanians without coming to a sharp realization of the difficulties that beset a society whose culture is in the process of undergoing a major transition. In the case of the Mapuche the change has had a much greater and more depressing effect on the men than it has had on the women. After all, the customary housekeeping and child-rearing duties of women have undergone relatively little modification and, to a large extent, the shift from war to peace has considerably lightened their agricultural labors.

This is not true for the men. Adjustment for them calls for adaptation to several drastic changes. Traditionally occupied with war and strenuous games and exercises, they must now accept the role of peaceful tillers of the soil. Inasmuch as their old culture pattern assigned no masculine prestige value to skill in agriculture, they are at best indifferent farmers. They raise what crops they can, but they take paths of least resistance instead of bending all their efforts toward the improvement of their lands, herds, and livestock. Time hangs heavy on their hands at many points of the calendar, and it is not hard to see why many of them seek to escape reality by getting drunk as often as possible.

512 Oddly enough, most of the Mapuches are in the habit of going to bed late and awakening fairly early, even in the rainy winter season when there is little work to be done. Again and again one hears them say: "How long the nights are!" Sometimes they beguile themselves with songs, stories, or general conversation, but even when time drags they do not like to retire early in the evening.

177 There is no way of predicting what cultural innovations or value systems the Araucanians may develop at a future date, but at the moment their material culture and its immediate
[563] consequences are depressingly low. Yet they are not sharply set apart from their neighbors, and except for the retention of the Mapuche language, they are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity.

KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

KNOWLEDGE of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite 121 for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said [177] of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, 124 great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

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[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1929, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

They were his heralds or trusted messengers and were used 624
particularly for carrying on negotiations with other head men.
They had to have excellent memories in order to transmit [202]
messages precisely, and it was necessary for them to be good orators so that they could deliver their communications effectively.[46] They traveled in pairs to check the exactness of each other's statements, and in the hope that one of them could get through to a destination even if his partner were waylaid or killed. A clever *werken* was likely to be chosen to replace a deceased *loñko*, and it is altogether probable that service as a herald was considered the best training for a future chief.

The traditional system of chieftainship, whatever may have 421
been its vicissitudes in times past, received a deathblow when 177•
the practice of allotting reservation lands in severalty began.
At the beginning of the reservation period, when each recog- 657
nized chief of a kinship unit (presumably a *lof*) was given a 622
título de merced on behalf of his group, the position of *loñko* seemed to be strengthened. When, however, one reduction after another was subdivided and titles were distributed to particular landowners, chieftainship lost its main support. As more and more individuals acquired their own property, they tended to follow their own inclinations without seeking the advice of elders; and as more and more homesteads were built on separate land holdings, the older pattern of large unilocal residences disappeared. Furthermore, partly through government and missionary pressure, and partly because they no longer have a monopoly of wealth, chiefs cannot indulge in large-scale polygyny and can no longer hope to beget large numbers of followers. Such as it was, the old order of chieftainship is gone, and no new form of leadership has yet emerged.[47]

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[46] Examples of the style in which *loñkos* and *werkens* spoke may be found in Augusta, 1934, pp. 9-13.

[47] Occasionally, a politically conscious Araucanian is a candidate for national office on a platform designed to win the support of his fellow tribesmen. A few Araucanian deputies have been elected, but rural natives regard them with suspicion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

are likely to be called *wesa* ("bad") *ñenechen*, and are said to 776
dwell in volcanoes.[38] The essential dualism of Araucanian be- 796
lief is thus again made evident (cf. p. 114), but it is impossible 771
at present to determine how many gods there are or what special functions they have.

The Reverend Juan Antinao once named as benevolent dei- 776
ties: *Küla-añe-fücha* ("Three-face-old man"); *Wene-kuse* ("First" 796
or "Earliest-old-woman"), possibly a metaphor for dawn; and *Ailla-mari-kona* ("Ninety retainers"). Beyond the vague statement that they were of help to *machis*, Antinao could not or would not elaborate on their characters or functions; and other informants were at a loss to identify them. They are here recorded only because they may provide suggestions to some future investigator.

Another problem of interpretation arises from the lack of 796
regularity in the ritual calendar. Apparently, *ñillatun* observances, important as they are considered, are held at irregular intervals. *Loñkos*, who used to serve as genuine leaders and spokesmen for their groups, are said to have ordered these celebrations whenever their followers were in distress or were plagued by bad dreams. We are told that today the cacique of a reservation, in consultation with the male heads of families, makes the decision at will; yet some say that a reduction should
sponsor a *ñillatun* regularly every three or four years. Several [771] ●
communities, possibly under Christian influence, have given
up the ceremony altogether.

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[38] Several writers associate *Pillañ* with catastrophic forces, Cooper (1946, pp. 747-48). But Latcham (1924, pp. 530-98 *et passim*) argued that *Pillañ* originally stood for any ancestral spirit and that *ñenechen* is the old *Pillañ* with added attributes taken from Christian teachings. The problem of Spanish-Christian influence on contemporary Araucanian religious customs raises many vexing and unsolved questions. Contrary to popular belief, the bulk of the Mapuche are neither Catholic nor Protestant. After the Spanish period, and particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, they were neglected by all churches; and it is only since 1900 that they have again been subject to missionary activities. Consequently, it is difficult to determine whether such customs as St. John's Day celebrations (or the widespread use of crosses) are survivals of ancient Christian practices or of still older heathen customs.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF CULTURE

● 177 MUCH that has been written in the preceding pages provides ample evidence that Araucanian culture is in a state of flux. Dynamic forces impinge on every aspect of Mapuche life, and the people betray uncertainty and uneasiness as they find themselves increasingly called upon to give up the ways of the past and to conform to conditions of the present. By way of recapitulation and conclusion a review and analysis will be given of some of the salient features of the process that is bringing about the changing pattern of Araucanian culture. The forces of change do not, it is evident, operate independently in isolated segments of culture, but interconnect and interact on each other at all times. For purposes of analysis it occasionally becomes necessary to disentangle some of the elements concerned and to discuss them separately, but wherever possible an attempt will be made to treat each aspect of change within a broad cultural context. The earlier phases of Araucanian history will be disregarded and the warring period in the nineteenth century in which a strong patrilineate prevailed will serve as a point of departure. Attention will be focused on the changes that have taken place since pacification and reservation life began.

It would not be hard to show that in the realm of material things the principal effects have been a loss of traditional arts and crafts and the substitution, wherever circumstances allowed, of Spanish-Chilean products, raw materials, and styles. Changes of house type and costume have been noted earlier, and attention was called to the greater conservation of women in matters of dress. Abandonment of native industries is not, however, a simple matter of recognizing and accepting the greater utility and convenience of modern gadgets. Not only did the old system of handicrafts provide satisfying work for many artisans, but methods for distributing the finished products were adjusted to the rest of the socioeconomic structure. Today, one either pays for a trade object in cash or does without. Yet the Araucanians have not developed the concept 177 of money, and their opportunities to acquire cash are exceedingly limited. As a group they have so little purchasing power that they are merely on the outer fringe of the Chilean financial system. The government lacks the resources to subsidize the Indians in any way whatsoever, and private manufacturers and traders can find little reason for making concessions to such poor customers. Consequently, the natives who cannot buy the things they need are discouraged and dispirited, and the shift in material culture has serious ramifications that result, at least for the time being, in a lowering of efficiency and morale.

Another aspect of transition that has a material base but 177 extends into other areas of culture is the matter of drunkenness. 733 Reverend Juan Antinao repeatedly affirmed: "Alcoholism is the curse of the Mapuche." No doubt he was influenced by Christian teachings, but there is much point to his statement in sociologic terms. In times past when a man became drunk, he was among friends and relatives at home or on a friendly reservation. He did not pay money for his liquor, nor did he put into jeopardy much more than his own health and comfort. Nowadays the pattern of drunkenness tends to run along different lines. The favorite drinks are not "home brews" of one sort or another but cheap wines sold in every town and city at numerous establishments that operate with or without legal license. To buy liquor one must pay cash, and when the craving is sufficiently strong a man will resort to all kinds of practices to get funds. He may sell bits of needed equipment, stores of seed or food, standing crops, or unborn animals, and he may even turn to thievery and robbery. Furthermore, while intoxicated, he may go so far as to dispose of his land, a contingency that could not have arisen in the old days.

A typical example of what may befall a drunken man concerns one of my informants who, in his youth, went into Cholchol with a cart drawn by two fine oxen and loaded with wheat to be milled. He remembers having had a few drinks. The next day, he woke up half-naked under a bridge. Gone were his cart, his wheat, and his bullocks. Similar tales are told of

177 733 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unrewarding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. 554 Under the former social system a man had numerous opportunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises. If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort, and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he, in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner of speech, he might become a *werken;* and if he combined these qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreasing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life. When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape. They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

in a town or on a private estate. In either case the individual 177
must be prepared to become a sort of displaced person, and
must try to adjust himself to a new cultural setting in which he
is unlikely to rise very high. The number of dispossessed Arau-
canians who, for one reason or another, have become laborers [564]
on lands owned by others is already large enough to suggest a
nascent system of peonage.

Coupled with the social and economic restrictions imposed by 177
reservation life and the allotment program is the disintegration 622
of the political structure. Chieftainship under former conditions derived much of its strength from a leader's control of his band's land, as well as from the size and fidelity of his following. Patrilocal and unilocal residence gave each unit a sense of stability and physical cohesion and made easy the implementation of political loyalties by the device of frequent councils at which each man could speak his mind. Bonds of attachment were forged at assemblies at which the retainers of one or two friendly *loñkos* ate, drank, sang, danced, gossiped, and made love. There was a comforting sense of belonging to a particular group, and outsiders were looked upon with suspicion as potential enemies or witches. When death occurred and threatened the stability of a band, the surviving members rallied around to prevent further harm by pacifying the soul of the deceased with a suitable funeral and by taking pains to discover and punish the disloyal person (witch) who had caused the death. Chiefs were expected to be on the alert to protect their followers by detecting and weeding out sorcerers, and they could be ruthless in killing or expelling those who were judged guilty. In other ways, too, caciques were responsible for maintaining group harmony. They had to organize their men into fighting units, keep polygyny within bounds but so equitably distributed that no one grew resentful or rebellious, see that each man had sufficient land to supply his wants, and serve as judges in the settlement of whatever disputes arose. Moreover, a *loñko* was expected to supervise the training of his retainers' children, and through his *werkens* to keep up good relations with other chiefs who would stand him in good stead if ever he

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needed the support of allies. There is a suggestion that *loñkos* were once reinforced in their authority by supernatural sanctions, and Latcham may well be correct in claiming that group ceremonies used to be led by caciques.

At present every aspect of chieftainship has been drastically modified. Whatever native leadership the people still have is so vaguely defined as to be of little importance. As long as men hold individual titles to their land and its usufruct, they do not need to rely on a *loñko* to tell them when or where to farm. They find it equally unnecessary to seek his advice on the disposition of their crops or other goods, or to consult him in regard to marriage. Disputes are not referred to a cacique for settlement, nor can any leader order suspected sorcerers to be 177 punished or expelled. Chilean courts have the same jurisdiction over Araucanians that they have over other nationals; there is a police station in each town; and the carabineros have the right of investigation and arrest on any reservation within their territory. In practice, the police seldom interfere in the internal affairs of the Mapuche, and those natives who resort to government courts are rarely pleased with the treatment they receive. As is so true elsewhere, litigation in Chile is apt to be expensive and long drawn out. Complaints of unfairness are often heard, and the phrase, "there is no justice," is frequently repeated. The Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización maintains an office in Temuco over which presides a judge of Indian affairs. Court is held about three days a week, and crowds of natives come in from outlying districts. Almost inevitably, they seek adjustment of land titles. If they can establish their identity and show that they have an authentic claim, they generally get a legal document of ownership, but this court only confirms previously assigned holdings and does not allot new land or grant titles to other than presumed heirs of previous owners. Incredible confusion arises from the Mapuche custom of duplicating names, from failures of men to list all their wives and offspring, and from the lack of accurate records. Even the wisest and best intentioned of judges must, inevitably, make numerous mistakes, and the natives often leave the courtroom feeling that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders. 177

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school. [578]

177 471 Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

● 177 871 up of acculturation were vividly impressed on me not only at the mission station in Cholchol, but also when I visited a small rural school at Malalche, in the company of Juan Antinao. Part of the one-room building had folding doors, behind which were an altar and other furnishings of a chapel. Reverend Antinao greeted the teacher, introduced me to her and to the class, then spoke to the pupils in Spanish, praising their Chilean "brothers" and urging them to learn to be good Chileans.

177 562 It is important to realize that the weight of cultural readjustment has fallen unequally on the two sexes. Men have been much more completely deprived of their former means of achieving status than have women. It might even be argued that the lot of women has in some ways been improved since pacification. No new cares of any significance have been added to their age-old duties, they have been released from most of the farming responsibilities, and those who have had schooling are developing a spirit of independence that was formerly lacking. The most important and sacred of the ceremonies still performed are entrusted to female *machis*, and few are the men who treat their spouses as chattels. In more than one instance I was impressed with the scrupulous care taken by husbands to avoid offering for sale articles that belonged to their wives. When journeys are being made women do not trudge afoot with burdens on their backs, but sit in carts while the menfolk walk or serve as drivers. Nor is it easy to forget a scene in Temuco's main plaza in which a Mapuche woman publicly and shrilly abused a man who lowered his head and hurriedly crossed the street to escape her loud nagging. It would be a mistake, however, to think that women enjoy full equality with men. On the reservations they continue to cater to their menfolk and exhibit marked signs of respect, and in the towns it is a common sight to see a woman waiting mournfully in an oxcart outside a wineshop, while her husband drinks up the money she had planned to put to other use.

177 582 A number of social maladjustments have arisen from population changes resulting from the cessation of warfare, together with the decline of preferential cross-cousin marriage. During the years when losses in battle served to keep down the propor-

tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each 177
man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults 582
remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the 177
changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the develop-
ment of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to 157
be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

177 157 at which the Indians are aware that they diverge most widely from accepted Chilean norms. Contemporary Araucanians realize that many people condemn them as ignorant, poor, dirty, shiftless, drunken, and lazy, partly because they have different forms of behavior and outlook. Yet the Mapuche have a nostalgic regard for many of their traditional practices and are unwilling to give them up altogether. Consequently, one detects uncertainty and a marked ambivalence in their attitudes. Sometimes they seem ready to forego native customs and become thoroughly assimilated, but at other times they try to resist the pressure to change. For example, even those who recognize the greater efficacy of medical science, may hesitate to forego the ministrations of a *machi*. Within a broader frame of reference the matter of land ownership is a case in point. The Mapuche may not like the current system of being forced to live on fixed reservations, yet most of them realize that this very system gives them a measure of protection, and that their way of life would be much more likely to be lost in competition with Chilean customs if their lands were not set aside as reservations.

177 A final review of Araucanian culture in transition throws light on several important characteristics of cultural dynamics. As in any study of dynamics, it is a matter of analyzing a balance of forces, in this case forces of sociocultural change versus forces of inertia. Not all the former press with equal intensity on all sectors of a given social structure, nor are they always resisted with equal strength. With regard to the Mapuche it is obvious that pacification and the attendant loss of symbolic masculine values gained through boldness and fighting ability have had a far more drastic effect than the introduction of new styles of dress or housing and that resistance to changes in material culture has been less steady than the reluctance to accept basic Christian teachings. Then, again, it should be noted that changes originating in one sphere of activity are likely to spread into other areas of the culture pattern. Thus, ownership of reservation land in severalty begins as a material and economic shift but can be shown to exert a powerful influence on chieftainship and marriage customs.

As the forces of change continue to manifest themselves people grow hesitant and uncertain and often become dispirited and maladjusted. While their morale is at low ebb feelings of shame are apt to arise, especially when they contrast their situation with that of a neighboring group which appears to possess greater stability and self-assurance. Nevertheless, the sense of shame does not necessarily engender complete willingness to abandon traditional customs. The net result is a series of compromises whereby old traits are modified rather than lost or replaced by totally new ones. Specifically, not every Mapuche lives in an old-style, thatched *ruka*, yet other kinds of houses are in a distinct minority, and even frame houses are likely to be straw covered so that they resemble *rukas*. Nearly all women regularly wear modern aprons and blouses, yet a woman entirely dressed in an old-fashioned costume is no rare sight, and combinations of native and Chilean garments are very common. Some new varieties of food and drink are not infrequently consumed, but there is still a marked taste for Mapuche bread and for native beverages such as *mudai*. Although aboriginal arts and crafts have almost disappeared, enough craftsmen remain active to keep most households supplied with basketry trays, wooden spoons and bowls, handwoven ponchos and blankets, and old-style ornaments and musical instruments. Polygyny is unquestionably fading out, but men with multiple wives may yet be found on most reservations. Mapuche religion which, apparently, was never strongly organized, is slowly yielding to missionary pressure, and medical science is gradually replacing shamanistic practices; but a host of pagan beliefs survive, and *machis* are still called upon to effect cures and officiate at *ñillatuns*. Hockey has lost its former significance for training warriors, but as a competitive sport it is highly popular and much esteemed. Education along new lines and the use of Spanish are being widely accepted as a part of modern Araucanian life, but it is most significant that no segment of the old culture has been more completely preserved than the use of the Mapuche language. Every man, woman, and child that claims to be an Indian has a fluent command of Mapuche no matter how acculturated he may be in other respects.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

● 177 Above all, it is apparent that the process of culture change is slow, nonsymmetrical, all-pervasive, and cumulative. It operates not so much by the sudden displacement or elimination of established traits, as by means of a series of successive modifications. After powerful forces of change have once been generated, they cannot easily be dissipated before they have run their full course, even if the people affected are made unhappy and ashamed in the interim. Inertia may slow down the process somewhat, but in the end enough trait alterations are effectuated to make the traditional culture unrecognizable. So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will persist only as memories.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

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[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

648 [101] The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time rased to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

114 Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

• 177 Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

[231] [241] [325] [842] The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch dates his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also saw him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual toldo or skin tent.

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[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170-180.

As Humboldt has so justly remarked, "the most difficult and the most 177
important event in the history of human society is perhaps the change from a
nomadic to an agricultural life." This change among the Araucanos was not
brought about by any compulsory conditions, but seems to have been adopted
gradually by the race on seeing the advantage accruing from the new mode of
life, and at first only in a very desultory way.

The Spanish conquest brought with it knowledge of new cereals and plants [231
other domestic animals, a fuller use of metals and a considerable change in the 241]
tribal government, owing to the necessity of continued union to repel the invader.

The introduction of spirituous liquors did not, for a considerable time, make 648
much headway. The relations between the whites and the Indians were so 273
strained, and the stern, hard discipline of constant warfare so maintained, that
the results of this traffic were not for a long time apparent. But after the
declaration of the Republican Government, when there were longer lapses of
peace, it became a lucrative business, and many large fortunes were made by
distilling cheap "firewater" in the frontier districts. To such a degree did this
traffic attain that it is a common saying in the south that the distillers did in a
few years what the Spaniards failed to accomplish in three centuries—reduced
the tameless Araucano. This vice has taken such a hold of the Indian that in 733
general it has completely changed his character and mode of life, and from being
a fierce, untiring, vengeful patriot, he has become a drunken, cringing, soulless
vagabond, who would sell land, stock, wife, daughters, or his soul itself to indulge
in his craving desire for drink.

Clothing.—Prior to the Incasic invasion of the northern tribes the Araucanos 291
led a purely nomadic life as hunters, shifting their *toldos* from time to time as the
exigencies of the chase demanded. Their only dress consisted of the skins of [281]
wild beasts, sometimes hung as aprons by strips of hide from the waist, or passed
cornerwise between the legs and brought up under a waistband. In winter they
protected themselves from the cold and rain by long blankets of furs coarsely
sewn together, or by guanaco skins, after the fashion of the Patagonians of the
present day. In those earlier days, men and women alike wore their hair long 302
and braided into two long plaits, fastened together at the tips by strips of hide.
Now, however, this fashion is left to the women, and the men wear a mane, cut
off square a little above the shoulders, and bound round above the ears with a
bright-coloured worsted band or cotton handkerchief, red being the favourite
colour. Formerly, in warfare, and at their principal feasts, the warriors wore the 292
heads of wild beasts as helmets, the skins and tails hanging down their backs, and
fastened under the chin by straps. They also fashioned rude sleeveless shirts of
the softer skins, using crude needles of bone or thorn, and thin strips of hide or
vegetable fibre. In some parts they also produced a coarse kind of fibre cloth, [28[illegible]]
employing rushes, fibrous grasses, or the stringy inner bark of certain trees. This [177]
was evidently an imported custom, and was probably learnt from the Calchaqui,
who inhabited the eastern slopes of the Andes north of the 32nd degree. There

283 286 There is reason to believe that they had learned the rudiments of spinning and weaving, ●177 probably from the same source[1] before the arrival of the Incas (*circa* A.D. 1450), and that they utilised the wool of the guanacos slain by their hunters in the confection of articles of dress.

177 286 The Incas introduced the llama and vicuña into the country, and from that time weaving became a recognised art among the northern tribes, although farther south the possession of a few of these animals was considered as a sign of considerable wealth. But the wearing of woollen clothing did not become generalised till the introduction of sheep during the Spanish occupation. This animal increased rapidly in the fertile plains of Southern Chile, and shortly formed one of the principal sources of riches among the Indians. To-day, cotton cloth is also extensively used.

291 The dress of the Araucanos, both men and women, consists of two principal garments, the *chamal* and the *iculla* or *macuñyi*, both made of coarse native cloth, generally of a dark blue colour. The former is worn by the men in guise of breeches, and consists of a square of cloth passed between the legs with the four corners drawn up under a waistbelt. By the women it is worn draped over the left shoulder, where it is fastened with a thorn, pointed bone, or a silver pin. Passing under the right armpit, it envelops the body and hangs to the knee, kept in place by a woollen cord or waist band.

The *iculla* of the women is a smaller square, and hangs from the neck, mantle fashion; it is generally discarded indoors. [177] Since the introduction of cotton goods the men usually wear coarse shirts of this material; formerly this garment was made of soft skins. Over all they wear the *macuñyi* or *poncho*. A handkerchief or strip of coloured wool (*trarilonco*) is bound round the forehead, and completes the ordinary dress.

These Indians go barefoot, and seldom wear the raw hide sandals of the Chilian peasant, although some of those who live in the neighbourhood of the towns, and are brought more into contact with civilisation, occasionally wear boots and hats. The children generally run about quite nude, or at most with a small skin apron, which, however, they discard in their games.

301 *Ornaments.*—The Araucanos are not so much given to personal adornment as most savage or barbarian races, although the women show a certain love of display. The most ancient and the most universal of their trinkets are undoubtedly the collars and necklets of bright-coloured stones. They usually employ green or bluish green stones (silicate of copper oxides), such as malachite or azurite, which abound all through the country, calling them *llancas*, a name commonly adopted in Chile to express these ores. Small pieces of these stones polished and perforated were strung on cords of twisted fibres. Those tribes who dwelt near the coast used small shells and coloured pebbles for the same purpose.

The coming of the Incas gave them a knowledge of the use of metal, and both gold and silver were extensively worked for ornamental purposes. These ornaments were mostly simple in form and of rude workmanship, although some

[1] [i.e., the Calchaqui.---Analyst]

of them show considerable ingenuity in their fabrication. After the Spanish occupation and the settling of missionaries among them, the cross, especially the Maltese, became a favourite design in their silverwork. The chiefs used spurs, bits and stirrups of silver, and frequently adorned their saddles, bridles and whip handles with the same metal. 301 [177 ● 797]

Owing to the Spaniard's greed for gold, and the dangers to which its display exposed them, this metal became less and less used, but their love for silver ornaments continues up to the present day.

The principal adornments of the women consisted of enormous earrings in the form of a half disc, frequently measuring 6 inches in diameter, bracelets, necklets, collars, head bands, waist bands, and long pins with large heads in the form of discs, half-moons, or ball-shaped. These were used to fasten their mantles. A favourite ornament is a strip of soft hide covered with rows of small silver beads. This is worn either as a head or waist band, and very frequently as a collar. Rings, usually plain silver bands, are frequently worn. Another favourite ornament is the *ali*, or chain pendant, worn suspended by a clasp from the breast, and having small trinkets hung at the extremity.

The Araucano neither daubs his face with paint nor uses tattooing as a means of beautifying his personal appearance, although formerly their war parties painted their faces to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies. The elaborate designs and totem marks used by some of the northern races seems to have had no counterpart among them, and they seem to have had no special identification mark to distinguish them if slain in battle, this task falling to the lot of the women who usually followed the war party not far in the rear. 302 [304]

Habitation.—As I have already mentioned, the primitive dwelling of the Araucano was the *toldo* or skin tent, such as is even now used by the Indian tribes of the Southern Pampas. When they began to lead a more sedentary life, they constructed rude wattle and daub huts, the cross-pieces of which were lashed together with fibrous creepers. These were probably at first circular in form, but finding them too small they afterwards gave them an oval shape, and finally began to build them in their present rectangular design. 342

The work of building these huts is a great event in the life of the Indians. The construction is not all conducted as one operation, but is generally divided into three stages, each of which gives occasion for a great feast, especially the final one. On this occasion, if the owner is a chief, or is well off, the feast lasts for several days. The first stage is the erecting of the posts and framework; the second the filling-in of the walls; and lastly the thatching of the roof with long coarse rushes. [527]

The huts vary in size according to the necessities of the family, being from 30 to 60 feet in length and from 15 to 30 in width; the walls are about 6 feet in height. They are occupied by the owner, his wives, unmarried children, and sometimes by other children. The children and unmarried men and girls sleep pell-mell, spreading skins on the beaten earth floor where fancy dictates. [513]

4:Latcham F-5 [illegible]388-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

intoxication from earliest childhood; it being no uncommon thing to see small 733
children completely inebriated. In regard to fermented liquors they are
exceptionally well provided, a considerable number of wild fruits supplying them 273
with materials.

After the introduction of cereals they learnt how to prepare a kind of small beer from maize and barley.

The early missionaries planted large numbers of European fruit trees round [797]
the old missions, some of which, like the apple, have propagated to such an extent [245]
as to form real forests. From the apple the Indians make a kind of cider called *chicha*, making a similar liquor from another fruit called *maqui*.

They also extract a spirituous liquor from several plants, especially the *huingan*.

They make their chicha in wooden troughs, pounding the apples with sticks. The juice is mixed with water, and left to ferment for seven or eight days. It is usually consumed at once, as it very quickly turns bad. The chicha is usually made by the men, the children gathering the fruit. It is kept in large earthenware jars.

Agriculture.—When the Incas arrived in Chile they found the native races 241
without even a rudimentary knowledge of agriculture. Following their established
custom, the Inca Yupanqui imported into the conquered country a large number of 177
mitimaes, or colonists from Peru, presumably from the Chincha tribes.

These colonists, mixing little by little with the Indians of Northern and Central Chile, introduced among them the first elements of agricultural and pastoral life.

But even a century later, at the arrival of the Spaniards, those tribes who dwelt to the south of the Bio-bio had not adopted the new state, save in a very limited manner, owing to the abundance of natural products and their continual state of inter-tribal warfare.

Up to the present time the Araucano only takes to agriculture in a desultory 241
fashion, and to provide the mere necessities of life. Their methods are of the most primitive.

Probably the principal reason why the barbarian tribes take to agricultural life with such distaste, is the difficulty of inadequate implements, and the consequent amount of labour entailed by such work, especially before the introduction of domestic animals.

The Araucano, for instance, could see no use in working hard to obtain what the earth gave spontaneously; and as a consequence, so long as his liberty to roam at will was uncurtailed, he showed himself refractory to such a mode of life.

His first implements were extremely crude. A forked stick of hard wood, weighted by a perforated stone, which also served as a handle, enabled him to turn over the ground. This digging-stick was at first used for grubbing up the roots which formed a principal part of his daily food. Another form of digging-stick, which was universally carried by men, women, and children alike, and taken with accord with their ideas, to the agency of the devil. As a consequence we have no real record of their ideas of religion. 771

At the present time there is a great admixture of Christian beliefs and customs engrafted on the native superstitions and mode of thought, creating a hybrid paganism the origins of which are often extremely doubtful. [772]

The Araucano, even of to-day, has only a very faint hazy idea of things spiritual. His religious opinions are intensely materialistic, and he endows his deities with a corporal form. In fact, he may be said to have hardly got beyond a state of fetish worship. In the following pages the term spirit is only employed to indicate a supernatural agency, although the Indian ascribes to it in every case a preconceived form. This belief is not exactly the ghost-worship of many of the tribes of North America, animism having little place in their theories. Neither do they believe that all inert objects are endowed with a spirit; considering that such objects may become temporarily the abiding place of an invisible being, but always attributing to it a concrete form. 774 776

The Araucanos recognize no supreme being with definite attributes. They have no temples, no idols, no established religious cult, and no priesthood in a religious sense, although they occasionally sacrifice to one or other of their divinities, but without a fixed ritual, and only as a conciliatory or expiatory act. 771 776

The basis of their belief is a rude form of nature worship, and all inanimate things are, or may be, the abodes of supernatural beings, malign or beneficent as the case may be, to whom they attribute a concrete form, but who possess the faculty of rendering themselves visible or invisible at will. 776

This invisibility, according to their belief, extends to their own bodies, for they are convinced that their dreams are the nightly wanderings of their other selves or spirits, to which, however, they assign a material though invisible form. They are not invisible to the pilli or spirits of other Indians and so when they dream of other persons they really believe their pilli have met. Thus also when they are attacked by nightmare or delirium tremens, the horrible forms their imaginations conjure up are considered to be real beings. 774 828

Their dead, when they return to this earth, generally appear transformed, but corporeal and visible to the pilli. This belief that dreams are nothing but the wanderings of their bodies in invisible form, and that those persons dreamt about are really met, is the basis of their ideas of a future state, as they have thus an overwhelming proof that the dead frequently revisit this earth in the form of pilli or spirits. In the same manner the material forms given to their good and evil spirits are to be explained. 775

If we duly remember that dreams and their events are very real facts in their cosmogony, then we have the key by which many obscure and unexplained conceptions may be unravelled. It is common to hear one of these Indians relate in the most convinced and matter of fact way his having encountered one or other of these good or evil spirits, and give elaborate details of the meeting and its result. This belief has also led up to another superstition which greatly affected the individual welfare of the Araucanos. 776

776 and struggled with them (convulsions). If he conquered he sucked the patient's
753 life blood.

Colo-colo (cockatrice) generated from a cock's egg, caused fever and death by extracting the saliva from his victim. *Pihuchenye*, or winged snake, sucked the blood of anyone found sleeping in the woods by night.

775 The *Am*, or ghosts of the dead, who appeared to the living, distinguished from the *Pillí* already mentioned, who were the ghosts or other self of the living. They also believed that their chiefs returned to visit the haunts of their relatives in the form of humble-bees.

All their trials and adversities, even the most trivial, were set down to the malignity of evil spirits.

Religion had very little effect on Araucano morals, and fear of a future punishment was unknown to them. Any kind of worship or religious rite was also unknown, and only in time of great adversity, as of drought, famine or plague, was any offering or propitiatory sacrifice made.

They believed in a future state, but hell had no place in their beliefs. After death they went in an invisible, but corporeal, form to the other world, where the evil spirits had no entry, where there was always abundance, and where they passed their time feasting and drinking and dancing, waited on by their wives, who had either preceded them or would follow after. The same castes were preserved there as on earth, but the poor people and the public women went to another land where it was always cold. Here also there was abundance to eat and drink, but of the coarsest quality and as before the men were waited on by the women. To arrive at their future resting place it was necessary to cross the [764] sea. For this reason the dead are buried facing the west. Before arriving at this happy land they had a long journey to make. So that they should want nothing on this journey, a good supply of provisions, blankets, chicha, etc., were buried with the corpse, and a horse was either buried also or slaughtered over the grave.

The island of Mocha was formerly believed to be the starting place for this long trip. Spirits of the dead had to follow a narrow path, guarded by a witch, who collected tribute from all passers. Even now the Araucanos bury some few [764] coins or other objects with the dead to discharge this obligation.

The coast tribes believed that certain witches transformed themselves into whales to carry them from the mainland to the island, while the inland tribes supposed that they changed into canoes. Many of these beliefs have been modified since the race has been in contact with Christianity, which, however, has made little headway among them, probably because they cannot even conceive of, much less understand, the principal dogmas and tenets of a highly developed religion.

● 177 The stories of numerous converts are inexplicable to one who has probed the Indian's mode of thought and state of intellect. At most they can be only
787 nominally Christians, accepting certain moral ideas and external forms, such as baptism, crosses to their burial grounds, etc., and all that appeals to the senses,

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries 177
ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to 797
Nguruvilu, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world.

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, 177
but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the 773
early writers attribute to it an universal character.

Medina in his work, *Aborigenes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez 628
de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that domotun, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by force, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged.

342 The interior of the larger huts was commonly divided into compartments or alcoves opening off the central section and serving as sleeping quarters for the different families or wives. There was ordinarily a separate fireplace for each married couple or wife. Storage space was provided by lofts and cane-partitioned bins.

342 476 Huts were erected in two or three separate stages by the voluntary joint labor of the men of the settlement or community, on the mingaco plan, with an eating and drinking feast after the completion of each stage. (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:149; Latcham, 1909, p. 337; Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 143–46; Manquilef, 1911, pp. 22–30; Moesbach, 1936, pp. 172, 176–78.)

352 **House furnishings.**—In earlier times there were no beds, tables, or chairs. The natives slept on skins or on heaps of grass or rushes, placed on the ground, using skins or ponchos as cover and a section of tree trunk, or a bundle of rushes or skins, or a stone, as headrest. The low platform bed was of later introduction. They ate seated on the ground or on tree-trunk sections. Hide and basketry containers served for storing food and other possessions; clay jars for holding chicha. (For details on house furnishings, see especially Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 29–48, 229–81.)

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 ● [177] **Garments.**—In recent times, apart from the generally adopted European clothing, the more characteristic garments of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* men were the chamall, the chiripa, and the makuñ (poncho); of the women, the kepam and the ekull (lliclla). Chamall, makuñ, and kepam are apparently words of *Araucanian* origin; chiripa and ekull, of Quechua.

The man's chamall was a rectangular piece of woolen cloth covering the body from the chest or waist down, and secured at the waist with a belt; his chiripa, a cloth of chamall type, worn drawn up between the legs from behind and secured at the waist, thus forming a sort of loose, wide breechclout-trousers; his makuñ, a poncho proper, a rectangular oblong woolen cloth, plain or striped or sometimes figured, with vertical slit in the middle for the head, and with the sides not sewn together.

The woman's kepam was a rectangular woven cloth, of chamall shape, pinned over one shoulder and leaving the other bare, reaching from above the breasts and under the armpits to the calves or feet, and secured at the waist with a belt; her ekull, a shawl or capelike garment, worn over the shoulders and pinned at the breast, commonly with a silver tupu.

Our early sources on the *Mapuche-Huilliche* are, as a rule, none too specific or detailed in describing native clothing, and in some cases use the same *Araucanian* or Spanish word to denote different garments.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

1911, pp. 230–46; 1929, 1:435–46; Housse, 1939, pp. 103–12; Moesbach, 776
1936, pp. 371–94; Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 9–36.) This rite differed considerably in detail from place to place, it would seem, to judge from variations in the accounts. The main features were the following: A master of ceremonies, called ŋen'pin, an older man respected for age and character (distinct from machi), who presided over the rite; the setting of the day for the rite and preliminary slaughtering of animals and preparation of chicha for the feast; the rewe, a branch or branches of *Drimys winteri*, *Aristotelia maqui*, and sometimes others, stuck in the ground or tied to a thick pole or log which was firmly embedded in the earth (fig. 83); the erection of the llaŋilaŋ, a quadrangular platform, which served as a sort of altar (fig. 84); repeated execution of the awün, an encircling of the rewe and altar by the people on horseback and afoot; the sacrifice of animals, usually lambs, with cutting off of the ears and offering the blood to the Supreme Being in plates placed on the altar; a dipping of *Aristotelia maqui* branches, carried by each of the participants, in chicha, sucking the chicha off and spitting it out toward the sky, and asperging with the dipped branches, four times; dancing and singing; repeated prayers by the master of ceremony and others to the Supreme Being, particularly for food, for good crops, for increase of the flocks and herds, for good growing weather, for long life for children and for elders, and for the welfare of all members of the family and group. The rite ended with the usual eating and drinking feast.

In some cases the machi took a leading part in the ŋillatun rite, with her characteristic performances, such as ascending the rewe, swooning, and on falling, being caught in a blanket. (Cf., e.g., Housse, 1939, pp. 108–10; see also infra under Shamanism, p. 750.)

In some sections and very commonly in association with the ŋillatun rite, even in some cases as an integral part of it, was carried out the konchotun rite. This latter is the rite previously referred to (see Sociopolitical Culture, p. 727), under which one person gives a lamb to another and the lamb is then killed and partaken of jointly as a symbol of special friendship between the two. When this konchotun rite is performed as part of the ŋillatun rite, the blood of the lamb may be put in a receptacle and placed on the ŋillatun "altar" (Moesbach, 1936, p. 380).

In the concept of the Supreme Being, with the associated public and private cults, aboriginal or the result of a reflection of missionary influence? An answer cannot easily be given. Some features of the concept, such as the titles King and Queen, are clearly European. Certain other features, such as ambisexuality, and the absence of prayer for forgiveness, of relation to the moral order, of future reward and punishment, and of still more distinctive Christian doctrines, and the emphasis in prayer on food and long life, look decidedly aboriginal.

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Our dated historical documents enable us to trace the concept back to the beginning of the 19th century, and with reasonable probability to the second third of the 18th century. Beyond that the trail is lost. Earlier writers either state that the chief deity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was Pillañ or else deny that they had any concept at all of a Supreme Being—a denial which, given the lack of penetration on the part of these writers in so many other basic aspects of religious and secular culture, need not necessarily be taken seriously.

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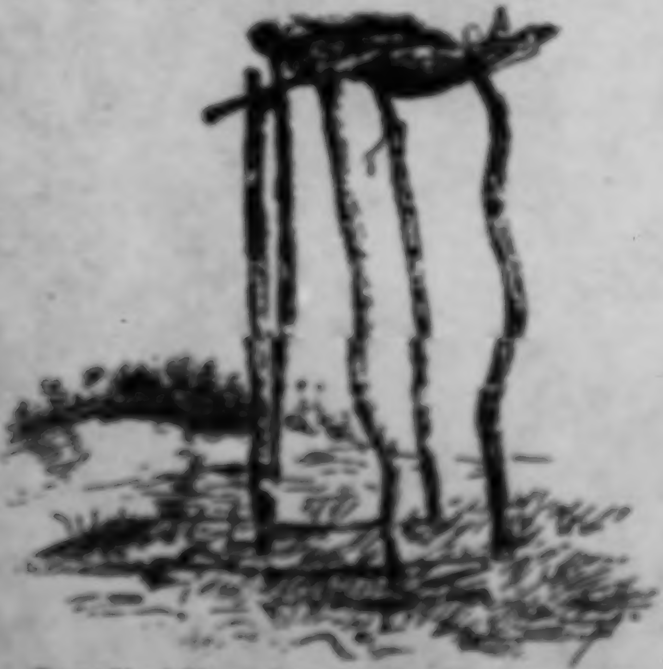

FIGURE 84.—A Mapuche scaffold. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 330.)

West of the Andes, among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the Supreme Being concept can be quite clearly followed back well into the 19th century through the writings of Fathers *Adeodato da Bologna* and *Octaviano da Nizza* (Félix José, 1916, pp. 233–36) and of Domeyko (1846, pp. 43–46) and Smith (1855, p. 272), and, with good probability, back to the middle 18th century through Molina:

> They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call Pillán . . . . They also call him Guenu-pillán, the spirit of Heaven; Butagen, the great being [sic, "master"]; Thalcove, the Thunderer; Vilvemvoe, the Creator of all; Vilpepilvoe, the Omnipotent; Mollgelu, the Eternal; Avnolu, the Infinite, &c . . . . He is the great Toqui of the invisible world . . . . [Molina, 1809, p. 108, cf. 1776 a, p. 266.]

776 Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 137) held that the *Mapuche* had no concept of a Supreme Being and that Molina's names for him were the
• 177 inventions of missionaries. But the case may not be as simple as this markedly unsympathetic chronicler of the *Araucanians* made it. Some of Molina's names for the Supreme Being, taken perhaps from Febrés (1882) or L. de Valdivia (1887), such as Vilpepilvoe (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names: Pepillóe, Barbará, 1879, p. 161; Filpepilfoe, Milanesio, 1898, p. 41) and Vilvemvoe are pretty surely of Christian origin. But others, such as Guenu-pillán (cf. Félix José, 1910, p. 227, Wenu Rey Fucha, "Above King Old"), Buta-gen (cf. Argentine *Araucanian* names for Supreme Being: Fecha huentú, "great man," Barbará, 1930, p. 48; Vita Ouénotrou, "great man," Guinnard, 1864, pp. 82, 145; Cuchauentrú, "great man," Mansilla, 1877, 2:32; Feta huentrú, Moreno, 1879, pp. 108, 114), and great Toqui (cf. Toquichen, Falkner, 1935, p. 114, and variants of ŋenechen, infra), have a more aboriginal ring.

East of the Andes, among the Argentine *Araucanians*, the Supreme Being concept is recorded consistently by our chief 19th-century observers—La Vaulx (1901, pp. 129, 178–79), Milanesio (1898, pp. 41–42), Moreno (1879, pp. 10, 108, 113–14), Mansilla (1877, 2:32), Cox (1863, p. 172), Guinnard (1864, pp 82, 145–48, 237), Barbará (1879, pp. 102, 161; 1930, p. 48), D'Orbigny (1835–47, 2:259), De la Cruz (1836, p. 48)—and back to the period of first close European contact in the second third of the 18th century by the Jesuit missionaries of the 1740's to their expulsion in 1767–68 (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Sánchez Labrador, 1936, p. 65). The Argentine "*Pegüenche*" observed in 1806 by De la Cruz (1836, p. 48) all believed in a Supreme Being who made and governed all things, who was expected to look after them "as a father," who protected and helped them, but who was not offended at the evil they did. According to Falkner (1935, p. 114), who spoke *Araucanian* and who had been in close contact with the *Araucanians* over many years:

> These Indians [tribes of Argentine Pampas] believe in two superior beings, the one good, the other evil. The good power is called by the Moluches Toquichen, which signifies governor of the people . . . .

Furthermore, some significant correspondences occur between names of the Supreme Being used among both the *Mapuche-Huilliche* and the Argentine *Araucanians*. *Mapuche-Huilliche* ŋenéchen, "master of men," and variants, occurs among the Argentine *Araucanians* as Guenetchen (La Vaulx, 1901, p. 129), Gne-che (Milanesio, 1898, p. 41), Génechen (Barbará, 1879, pp. 102, 161), correlating with "governs all things" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48), Toquichen, "governor of the people" (Falkner, 1935, p. 114; cf. Molina, 1901, p. 100, "great Toqui of the invisible world"); *Mapuche-Huilliche* ŋenémapun, "master of the land," and variants, with ruyne mapu (Guinnard, 1864, p. 147);

Mapuche-Huilliche chau, "father," with "father" (Guinnard, 1864, 776
p. 147), chachao (Mansilla, 1877, 2:32), expected to look after them
"as a father" (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 48); Buta-gen, as supra. And on 177
both sides of the Andes the Supreme Being was not concerned with the moral order (cf. supra).

In the light of the foregoing evidence, the Supreme Being concept can be clearly traced back a century and a half and probably two centuries, and shows from the first certain suggestively aboriginal features. But even before the middle 18th century, the *Araucanians* had been open for two centuries to much European influence from captives, missionaries, and other acculturational agents. (See supra, p. 696). In the light of the evidence on both sides, the chances for aboriginal or European origin of the *Araucanian* Supreme Being belief seem close to even, with perhaps a slightly greater probability that we have to do with an aboriginal belief which has been appreciably developed and pointed up as a result of White influence.

So far as the ŋillatun rite itself is concerned, apart from and waiving 796
the question of the prayers to the Supreme Being therein, its characteristic features appear as definitely aboriginal and peculiar to the *Araucanians*, and some of them, such as the use of the sacred *Drimys winteri* and the (sacrificial) killing of animals, can be traced back through our dated historical sources as far as the earlier decades following the Contact. The ensemble of the modern rite may, of course, be much more recent.

One other principal *Araucanian* rite, the new year rite, Wunn tripantu, was held at the winter solstice (June 21; latterly on St. John's day, June 24), and was characterized by a long ceremonial bath which all the group, young and old, took in a nearby stream; by the public sacrifice of a lamb; by prayers to Rañiñhuenu (lit. "zenith," a name for Supreme Being: Félix José, 1916, 1:193) for general welfare during the year; and by an obligatory rest (Christian influence?) from work throughout the day (Claude Joseph, 1933–34, pp. 1063–64).

The Pillañ cult.—In contrast to ŋenéchen, who was associated with 776
and appealed to mostly for food and long life, Pillañ (Pillan) was
pretty consistently associated in our sources from at least the first [821
half of the 17th century on (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 286; cf. Febrés,
1882, s. v.) with dramatic catastrophic natural phenomena, such as 823]
volcanic eruptions, thunder and lightning, river floods, tidal waves, etc. The crops, too, according to one tradition, were under the protection of Pillañ (Félix José, 1916, 1:181). According to Sors (1921, [753]
p. 184), epidemics were attributed to Pillañ's anger. We do not seem to have any information on what was supposed to arouse Pillañ's ire. Data, too, on the cult of Pillañ are meager and scattered. According to Marcgraw (1648, p. 286), Pillañ was appealed to by the *Mapuche-Huilliche* to destroy their enemies, and tobacco smoke was blown in

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Picanche
Argentinian Araucanians

Bío-Bío River, very little is known. Cultural modifications had 000
already come about in pre-Hispanic times as a result both of *Inca* 177
occupation of the northern section of the region and of other, non-
Inca influences. Soon after the Spanish Conquest, from 1536 and
1540 on, the whole region suffered radical cultural transformation.
The early chroniclers have left us only the most fragmentary data on
pre-Hispanic aboriginal *Picunche* culture. Presumably, it was of the
same general pattern as the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, but in the
absence of specific records we cannot be certain. The meager information
at our command gives evidence of considerable identity, but also
of some divergence.

Irrigation was practiced as far south as the Rapel, but there were no 312
terraces south of the Choapa (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 135, 139). Huts 342
were commonly of wattle-and-daub construction, rectangular, with
thatched roofs (Molina, 1901, p. 122; Latcham, 1928 a, p. 138).

The weapons reported as having been used in the "valley of Mapu- 411
che" (Mapocho, near modern Santiago) in 1541 by the natives under
Michimalongo were: Atlatls, bludgeons with metal points, short
lances, pikes, heavy macanas, very big bows with long thin arrows
(Mariño de Lovera, 1865, pp. 46–47); in some of these weapons *Inca*
influence may be suspected, as the *Inca* domination extended at the
time well beyond the Mapocho.

Clothing was very much like that of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. 291

Mound burials are found archeologically in the region, with the body 172
resting supine or on the side, sometimes face downward; some of the 764
burials contain undecorated pottery; others, a black or dark pottery,
sometimes polished and often adorned with figures of men and animals
modeled in relief (Latcham, 1928 a, pp. 133, 135, 139).

On *Picunche* social and religious culture, we have no definite detailed information. (For fuller data on *Picunche* culture, cf. Latcham, 1928 a, ch. 7.)

CULTURE OF THE ARGENTINE ARAUCANIANS

In view of their geographical location and of certain cultural affini- 131
ties, the 16th-, 17th-, and early 18th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Mariño 101
de Lovera, Rosales, and Pietas, living south of about lat. 37° or 38° S.,
are dealt with in the following section on the "*Pehuenche*"; the later 18th- and early 19th-century "*Pehuenche*" of Molina, Amat y Junient, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig, living in the Andean uplands and eastern slopes between about lat. 34° or 34° 30′ and 37° or 38° S., in the present section, although some of these latter "*Pehuenche*" were located at the time in Chilean territory.

Our most important sources on the culture of the Argentine *Arauca-* 113
nians, including these latter "*Pehuenche*," with dates of observation
where such are determinable, are: Molina (1878 a, 1878 b, 1901)

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113 before 1767, Falkner (1935) between circa 1744 and 1767, Amat y Junient (1927) circa 1760, Sánchez Labrador (1936), Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876) last third of 18th century, Sors (1921) circa 1765–80, De la Cruz (1835) 1806, Poeppig (1835–36) 1828–29, D'Orbigny (1835–47) 1829, Barbará (1879, 1930), 1847–48 to circa 1856, Guinnard (1864) 1856–59, Cox (1863) 1862–63, Musters (1871) 1869–70, Mansilla (1877) 1870, Moreno (1879) 1874–77, Milanesio (1898) 1884–98, La Vaulx (1897–98, 1901) 1896–97. Of these sources the most detailed is De la Cruz. D'Orbigny's and Barbará's lengthy accounts are largely drawn from that of De la Cruz. The other accounts are mostly based on independent first-hand observation. In general, our information upon the Argentine *Araucanians* is not nearly so abundant as that upon their Chilean brethren.

● 177 The culture of the Argentine *Araucanians* was distinctly a palimpsest one. Some elements of material culture were given up and others substituted therefor, and a few shifts in social and religious culture occurred, but beneath these superficial changes the basic ancient *Araucanian* culture derived or brought from Chile remained largely intact and is readily discernible. The more significant of these changes, so far as known from our very imperfect source material, are given in this section.

241 Among many of the Argentine *Araucanians*, horticulture, the basic productive economy of the Chilean *Araucanians*, was abandoned entirely, although some of them kept up a certain amount of gardening. (Cf. Falkner, 1935, pp. 36, 120; Cox, 1863, p. 96; Musters, 1871, pp. 70–71, 230; Milanesio, 1898, p. 39.) Sors (1921, 39:184) states that the *Pehuenche* ordinarily did not plant. The *Pehuenche* of Molina (1901, p. 263), De la Cruz (1835, p. 63), and Poeppig (1835–36, 1:381, [231] 383) practiced no horticulture, it seems, but possessed cattle, horses, and other livestock in fair abundance. Among many of the *Araucanians* [224] farther east in the Piedmont and out on the Pampa, hunting, with the bolas and other weapons, entirely superseded horticulture.

301 The *Pehuenche* men as well as women used to paint their faces and 302 arms and legs and to wear various pendants and "jewelry". (Amat y Junient, 1927, 52:371; Carvallo i Goyeneche, 1876, p. 136; Sors, 1921, 39:181.)

177 Among the new elements, mostly adopted from the non-*Araucanian* Pampean tribes, were: The bota de potro (Molina, 1901, p. 263; De la Cruz, 1835, p. 33); roasting meat by placing hot stones inside the carcass (Cox, 1863, p. 189); the portable skin-covered tent of conical (Poeppig, 1835–36, 1:382) or toldo (De la Cruz, 1835, p. 37; Cox, 1863, pp. 144–45) type; chicha of fermented algarroba beans (Mansilla, 1877, 2:45); chewing of otcho resin (Guinnard, 1864, p. 210); use of horse blood as a soap for washing the face, the hair, and mantles (De la Cruz, 1835, p. 63; D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225), and of a certain clay for rub-

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bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:225; Cox, 1863, 177
p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149–50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:48; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 621
large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman
of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836–37, 5:95– 622
101) had each from 6 to 20 warriors, in one case 60, under them.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the 551
names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142–43), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger.

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130–33), to be born with more 826
than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the
whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones 847
or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off
to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike 854
cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "aloah," and gunpowder.

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the 881
Argentine *Araucanians*.

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2:247–48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 173–78, and 1880, p. 30, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 158–60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

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lies between lat. 37° and 40° S., was the first to be *Araucanized*. 101
This process must have begun in the middle of the 17th century, 197
as we can clearly see from the records of a famous criminal trial
held in Mendoza in 1658. On this occasion, some captured *Pehuenche* 194
who testified under oath, spoke only their own language and had no knowledge of *Araucanian*, but the names of some chiefs and certain cultural elements were already characteristic of the *Araucanians*. This elemental process of *Araucanization* must have terminated toward the end of the same century, for according to the 18th-century documents, the *Pehuenche* already spoke the *Araucanian* language. Jerónimo Pietas (1846), e. g., attests this in his "Costumbres de los Araucanos."

The *Araucanians* were led to influence the people of the Cordillera 177 ●
and later of the eastern plains as a result of their war against the conquistadores. From the beginning, the Indians of Chile adopted Spanish war tactics and equipment, especially the horse. To procure horses, which were so important in warfare, they went to the plains of Argentina, which were densely inhabited by these quadrupeds. After the Spaniards abandoned the original Buenos Aires in 1541, they left horses, which multiplied so rapidly in this favorable environment with its abundant herbaceous plains that during the 17th and 18th centuries there were hundreds of thousands of horses in wild herds.

During this period, culture exchange among the indigenous population was intensified. The *Pampa*, or pre-*Araucanian* inhabitants of the plains, gave horses; the *Araucanians*, or inhabitants of Chile, gave textiles and other elements of a higher culture. The *Pehuenche*, who lived amid both, were the intermediaries.

Other geographic factors also facilitated cultural exchange. The
Andes in the region of the Araucaria pine, domain of the *Pehuenche*, [130]
are relatively low with numerous passes which are open throughout the year. Moreover, the Chilean region opposite the *Pehuenche* habitat had the greatest concentration of *Araucanians* engaged in war; the latter frequently took refuge in the Cordillera. Finally, the territories east of *Pehuenche* were never occupied by the Spaniards, thus leaving the mountaineers free to move at will.

All these reasons brought the continuous *Araucanian* infiltrations first to the *Pehuenche*. Once this people was *Araucanized*, the great expansion on the eastern side of the mountain range began. Its base was the *Pehuenche* region or western part of Neuquén, from which it extended toward the north and the east, gradually occupying the greater part of the Argentine central plain and bordering regions.

The first expansion of the now-*Araucanized* *Pehuenche* was to the 167
north, and it invaded the southern part of the present Province of Mendoza. This region had been the ancient domain of the *Puelche de Cuyo*, the second of the three previously mentioned non-*Araucanian*

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164 *Araucanians*, the results should everywhere be identical or similar. Considering the *Araucanian's* manner of living, the century and a half of their occupation of the territory east of the Andes was not sufficient time for them to become differentiated. The different groups of eastern *Araucanians* remained very similar to one another in their physical appearance as well as in their culture and language.

141 144 We lack exact anthropometric data on the Argentine *Araucanian* stature, but according to different historical sources they were of a "medium" stature, that is, an average height of 5.4 to 5.6 feet (1.65 to 1.70 m.). This is understandable because they were the result of the mixture of the short *Araucanians* of Chile with the taller *Pehuenche* and the other Pampa tribes.

According to craniological measurements published by Ten Kate (1893), the majority (80.6 percent) of the *Araucanians* from the plains are brachycephalic like those of Chile, and 19.4 percent are dolichocephalic like the old *Pampa*. This is as would be expected.

●177 Their culture was also of mixed origin. Features of *Pampa* origin included their lack of cultivation of the soil; use of the classic skin toldo; the bolas (boleadora) as the principal weapon, together with the spear; their diet of half-raw mare meat and hot blood, and their mythology and the name of their spirit of evil, Gualichu. From Chile came men's and women's garments, ornaments, weaving, silverwork, wooden plates, spears up to 16 feet (5 m.) long, part of their social organization, and some funeral practices.

197 Finally, their language differed from that of Chile in certain peculiarities, such as their tendency to change the *r* into *s* and the *t* into *ch*.

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood 669
and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío.

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central prob- 177
lem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures.

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception 114
of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under dis- [797]
cussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as

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[9] Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 13-14, 42-45, passim). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study. [114]

[10] Idem, pp. 93-94.

There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw 184 an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture became under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position 177 and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas—military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning 175 of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Bío-Bío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

175 Spanish strength. Before its foundation the Spaniards posed a transient threat, but after it began to serve as a springboard for trans-Biobio conquest and settlement the Indians better understood the consequences involved. With alarming speed the Spanish moved southward, through the provinces of Arauco, Catiray, Tucapel, Purén, and Mariquina, coming to a temporary halt at the Calle-Calle River. This entire area, bordered on the west by the sea and on the east by the camino real (the ancient passage through the central valley), was divided in encomienda, Arauco, Tucapel, and Purén being retained by Valdivia as the basis of a princely estate.[11] These provinces, especially Arauco, were highly prized by the Spaniards as the most heavily populated of the whole kingdom, and as possessing an abundance of food stuffs, fine lands, and a most propitious climate.[12]

621 Within this area the Indians lived in small, decentralized kinship groups, with no apparent inter-group relationship of an institutional nature. The sources of the sixteenth century are so meagre as to preclude the possibility of clear understanding of the socio-political divisions within the individual group. The local clusters of dwellings, in early chronicles called *levos*, in later ones *regues*, composed a larger unit known as the *aillaregue* (or *aillarewe*). Each aillaregue was composed of nine or less levos. Olaverría, writing in 1594, describes this area as consisting of only five aillaregues, but the context in which he mentions them suggests that this semi-centralization was of relatively recent origin.[13] There is no factual basis for postulating anything but a crude kinship relationship, markedly particularized by geographical isolation, at the time of the Spanish arrival.

● 177 These people, albeit ready warriors, were soundly defeated by Spanish arms and remained so for almost four years. Subsequent events, the revolt against Governor Valdivia in December, 1553, and the continuing War of Arauco, indicate quite clearly that this short peace was a period of Araucanian maturation. Through military action, service in encomienda, and free intercourse in the Spanish towns (Concepción, Imperial, Valdivia, and Villa Rica) they observed and learned much about Spanish military organization and strategy, government, social custom, mores, and religious concepts. The lessons they learned were adequately demonstrated in subsequent resistance against the invaders.

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669 This initial period of communication with Spanish culture was constantly amplified throughout the following century. Military action was usually confined to the summer months. During harvest time and winter both Indians and Spaniards tended to refrain from active combat, holding what had been gained and preparing for summer campaigns. Through peaceful Indians, those serving the

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[11] Olaverría, p. 20.

[12] Marmolejo, p. 25; Pedro de Valdivia to King, Sept. 25, 1551 (Gay, I, pp. 129-142).

[13] Olaverría, p. 22.

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Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed sides, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish. 726 669

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[29] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[30] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatized and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[31] 177 ● 713 [29]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers, 223

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[29] Barros, vol. 3, p. [illegible].

[30] [illegible], p. 117.

[31] Ibid., pp. [illegible]. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

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of his equipment and his inability to dodge through the forest undergrowth, did not have a chance for his life.[25] 725

The idea of Indians running down horses is not as incredible as it at first seems. 725 In the heat of summer, when most of the fighting took place, the Spanish mounts 481 tired quickly, especially after the long trip to the Indian ambuscade. Besides this, the Araucanians were accustomed to hunting wild game by literally chasing it to death. This required a tireless run, at which they were proficient. Profiting by the lessons of their own strategy, the Araucanians devised an extremely light saddle [492] in order to increase the endurance of their mounts on long rides. When they used captured Spanish saddles they first cut them down so as to make them considerably lighter.[26]

Shortly after the turn of the century, by 1611 to be exact, the Indians devel- 704 oped a cavalry that in terms of mobility was superior to the Spanish. They like- 177 wise possessed the best horses in the whole of Chile. These advantages were demonstrated in more daring raids on Spanish towns and a willingness to meet the Spanish cavalry on its own ground.[27] From this time forward the war passed into a new phase in which Araucanian offensive power became an increasingly significant factor. The source of that power, of course, lay in mastery of the horse. In little more than a generation the animal from which the Indians had once fled in terror had been incorporated into their culture, transforming it into a factor of defiant military power, dedicated to the annihilation of Spanish culture. The Spaniards were not only dismayed to recognize this development of Araucanian military strength, but were piqued as well at the sight of barbarous savages riding horses with an air of equality. In answer to Spanish resentment the Indians pledged never to quit their war for freedom and their horses to enter serfdom on foot.[28]

The existence of a skilled and effective military force bespeaks the presence 64 of a comparable political organization under whose guidance it is formed and directed. In the development of Araucanian political organization the chronicles indicate two major forces at work: the geographical particularism in which the Araucanians traditionally lived and a counter-force provoked by the presence of the enemy and inclining towards Araucanian unity. Throughout the first century

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[25] [illegible], pp. [illegible], [illegible]. These are but [illegible] of many such descriptions.

[26] Nájera, pp. [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible] (p. [illegible]) gives the impression that Indian saddles and riding gear were nothing more than crude imitations of Spanish models.

[27] Nájera, pp. [illegible]; "Informe de Juan de [illegible]," May 1, 1611 (Gay, II, p. [illegible]); [illegible] to King, Jan. [illegible], 1611 and Jan. 28, 1612 (ibid., pp. 247, [illegible]); [illegible] to King, [illegible] (ibid., p. [illegible]).

[28] Nájera, p. [illegible]. Whenever the Indians found it necessary or advisable to grant a temporary peace, the Spaniards first insisted that they turn in their horses and move about on foot, as subject peoples were expected to do. The Indians invariably turned in their [illegible], keeping their good [illegible] hidden for use after the next rebellion (ibid., p. 120).

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of arms to enlist the support of the local Indians for his designs.[42] As incom- 631
plete as this description is, it does give evidence of a relatively sophisticated politico- 721
military organization which stands in sharp contrast against that of the first generation of estado caciques.

Development of religious beliefs among the Araucanians is a most difficult 769
postulation because we know so very little about their pre-Hispanic religious ideas. 787
The chroniclers generally agree that the spirits of Araucanian ancestors formed 787
an important cult, each kinship group having an ultimate progenitor whose spirit was called *Pillán*. This spirit was believed to be immanent, and so could be propitiated. Before going into battle the Indians sometimes sought divination from oracles, and once having gained a victory in a given locality through the intercession of supernatural forces, they believed that they could not lose a subsequent battle in that particular place.[43] Given the immediate religious background of the chroniclers of the sixteenth century, one in which religious and nationalistic sentiments were perfectly united, and the omnipresent tradition of the *Reconquista*, one must always wonder if the early chroniclers reported what the Indians actually believed, or if they instead reflected the paths of their own cognition.

As the Spaniards made war in the name of an omnipotent God, the Arauca- 771
nians appear to have rationalized a deity for their own defense. There were 177
innumerable Pillán hovering over every locality, and in the absence of concerted
missionary effort they doubtless remained. In describing an Araucanian ceremonial 727
that he witnessed in 1629 Bascuñán depicts an interesting bit of symbolism which suggests the evolution of a super-Pillán. The occasion of ceremony was the execution of a Spanish captive. Involved in the execution was a lance with three knives fixed to its end, representing the three butarmapus. After the captive's brains had been dashed out, his captor took from the lance that knife which represented his personal region of *Araucania* and used it to cut out the victim's heart. He
sucked its blood, took tobacco smoke and blew it to the heavens, then passed the [XV]
heart around to the other chiefs for similar usage, after which it was divided and eaten.[44] The three knives symbolized *Araucania*, and the sucking of blood was a

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[42] Gerónimo Pietas, "Noticias sobre las costumbres de los *Araucanos*" (Gay, II, pp. 486-492).

[43] Marmolejo, p. 172; Nájera, p. 96; also see Latcham, *La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 150-154. Cooper (pp. 742-750) makes a noble attempt to unravel the confused threads of early Araucanian religious belief.

[44] Bascuñán, pp. 39-43. The author was a captain of Spanish infantry and the son of 164
Álvaro Núñez de Pineda, maestre de campo general, one of Chile's distinguished soldiers. In 1629 the Araucanians crossed the Biobío and fell on Chillán. They captured Bascuñán and took him back to their stronghold. His captivity was one of those rare lucky affairs, almost no ransom and destined to be [illegible]. He was befriended by Maulicán, a powerful cacique

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177 form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches
721 the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

782 771 Later in his captivity Bascuñán had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Bascuñán, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The trenchant Bascuñán then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pilláns.[44] Bascuñán registered satisfied delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

889 882 In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified resistance the leaders of the councils, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[45] Another type of training begun at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[46] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish affronts since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry food or firewood, nor to herd cattle, or to follow it about. And since this master sustains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[47]

703 There was seldom talk of peace in the councils. Even a child, if he dared speak

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[114] of the councils, and likewise the son of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Bascuñán's identity they demanded his head to use as a trophy to incite powerful Indians to war. By chicanery and tact Maulicán saved him, and after some months of comfortable captivity returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is somewhat tiresome to read. He was a creole and educated in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a creole scholar could hold his own with a peninsular, hence his excessive quotations from and reference to classical authors.

[44] Bascuñán, pp. 155-158. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, Historia de Chile (CHC, vol. 2, p. 26).

[45] Olivares, p. 53.

[46] Núñez, p. 46.

[47] Idem, pp. 61, 165.

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he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

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Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his [illegible] on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Núñez describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and sorrowful, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

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The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasion they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, unkempt, [illegible], naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

[illegible]

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The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mechanisms. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to estimate the chronology

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[53] García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Doc. I, pp. [illegible]).

[54] Núñez, p. [illegible].

[55] Idem, pp. [illegible].

[56] Idem, p. [illegible].

[57] Idem, p. [illegible].

[58] Núñez, pp. [illegible]. The author also noted that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. [illegible]).

[59] Idem, pp. [illegible].

[60] Idem, p. [illegible].

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which is so basic to cultural history; the other to direct study of the problem of Araucanian resistance from narrow analysis of Spanish strength and weakness. It is apparent that understanding is to be found in the sphere of Araucanian cultural experience. In piercing the System it is inevitable that questions tentatively answered should suggest a multitude of new ones laying deeper beneath the surface.[53] With more intensified study, surface appearances which now seem to be certainties, will doubtless be proved to be more apparent than real. Even so, we can better understand why an observation made by an historian in the middle of the eighteenth century could, with small exception, have been made in the sixteenth. 117 123

In a short time the Spanish conquered the three powerful empires of the American hemisphere, those of Peru, Mexico, and Bogotá, but the hundred and ninety years that have elapsed since the beginning of this conquest have not sufficed to end it with the subjugation of the Araucanians. Nor has the vast expenditure of fifty million pesos and more than 25,000 soldiers, nor the effusion of blood that has been spilled there so even though in the past century the King declared this war to be equal to those of Spain, Flanders, and Italy. Today the Araucanians possess the better portion of Chile, from the Biobío River to the Straits of Chiloé, a hundred and fifty leagues stretching between the Cordillera and the sea. In the whole of this area the Spanish hold nothing but the fortified towns of Arauco and Valdivia; the Indians live in independence and enjoyment of their ancient liberty.[54] 125

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[53] [illegible]

[54] [illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucania. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the currently Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence. 201 114

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucania raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucania seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region. [179 601 611

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucania. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa(Ss)). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture. [17]

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, patrilocal residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, the other influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though over-all politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but MoBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "patri-

853 I have known Mapuche herbalists to stay eight days with a crying baby or a sick child, and had donations for it."

A child is always nursed until it is a year old, unless the mother is again pregnant, but it is seldom nursed when older than two years. (Pl. 3, A.) It is nursed tied in its cradleboard, resting in its mother's arm, sitting on its mother's lap, or standing near its mother. During an interview of an hour, a mother nursed her baby whenever it began to fuss, which was about every 10 minutes. The baby was then tied to its cradleboard to be photographed, but immediately after the picture was taken the mother sat on a low bench and again nursed the baby still strapped to the cradle, which stood in an upright position.

During an interview with another mother her 10-month-old boy became bothersome. She then nursed him lying in her lap until he fell asleep. When he awoke, she again nursed him; this time he rested on his knees in her lap. When he began to move about in her lap, she let him slide off and nursed him standing at her side.

When the mother cannot satisfy the child with her own milk, she gives it soup, and/or commercially condensed milk mixed with water, and/or boiled milk of a fresh cow. "We put this in a bottle with a nipple. One can buy these in Chilean stores. We learned this from the Chileans."
[117]

862 The child is weaned by gradually accustoming it to a series of solid foods, "the same foods that everyone else eats. It is best, however, to begin with cow's milk, so that it gets used to new tastes gradually." Following this, it is fed toasted wheat, catuto (made of crushed wheat), new potatoes, and later meat. After the child is completely weaned it may be given anything to eat except apples and plums. "We believe that a weaned child still has mother's milk in its body and that these fruits will sour the milk."

Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, "like its grandmother or an aunt," and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more. The mother does not use a repellent, such as a peppery or a bitter substance on her breasts. According to Cooper's source, the child was weaned when all its teeth were out, or a year after its birth; or if the child was weak, not until it was 18 months, or older (1946, p. 731).

Only an occasional child sucks its finger. Two instances came to the writer's notice: one was two years of age; the other, nearly three. Both sucked the first finger of the right hand.

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native listeners signified approval with hand clapping. The day preceding the occasion two men let it be known that it would be quite proper for me to respond to the addresses to be given in my honor. Later in the day a non-Araucanian instructed me to deliver my address in ceremonial fashion, for then the Araucanians would know that they were being honored by an equal. Following my address at the reception, several persons stepped forward to shake hands with me. A leader complimented me on my intelligent presentation and oratorical ability; I had used forms, he said, in proper places, and all had been punctuated with proper pauses; then he ended by saying, "but I must say, your Spanish needs to be improved and you have a decided foreign accent!" 537

Schoolchildren recognized certain boys and girls in their classes as the best orators. Teachers thought it wise to tutor such pupils, especially boys, in the principles that one wished the next generations of Araucanians to follow. Orators, they noted, are the leaders in all areas. According to Cooper's sources, oratory was an avenue to prestige and public office (1946, p. 737).

COUNTING

Every schoolboy in *Alepúe* could count orally in Araucanian from 1 to 1,000. Many could write the numbers also. The numerals in table 1 were written by two boys. The Araucanian system of counting has no zero. (See table 7 for Argentine Araucanian numerals.) 803

According to Cooper's sources the numbers from 100 to 1,000 are of Quechua origin (1946, p. 734). The 100-year-old Coñuecpu man said that formerly it was customary to say "one pair" when one counted two of the same kind; "two pairs" for four of the same kind; "three pairs" for six of the same kind, etc. A Panguipulli woman had often heard Mapuche say "one pair and a half" when they counted three of a kind. [171]

Table 1.—*Numerals in Araucanian* (Chile)

1	kiñe	11	mari-kiñe	31	küla-mari-kiñe	102	pataka-epu
2	epu	12	mari-epu	40	meli-mari	199	pataka-aylla-mari-aylla
3	küla	13	mari-küla	50	kechu-mari	200	epu-pataka
4	meli	19	mari-aylla	60	kayu-mari	300	küla-pataka
5	kechu	20	epu-mari	70	regle-mari	400	meli-pataka
6	kayu	21	epu-mari-kiñe	80	pura-mari	900	aylla-pataka
7	regle	22	epu-mari-epu	90	aylla-mari	999	aylla-pataka-aylla-mari-aylla
8	pura	28	epu-mari-pura	99	aylla-mari-aylla	1000	mari-pataka
9	aylla	29	epu-mari-aylla	100	pataka		
10	mari	30	küla-mari	101	pataka-kiñe		

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The kinkiul and kullkull are used in signaling (cf. pp. 91-92). Félix José defines the kinkiul as he does kullkull, namely, as the horn of a cow prepared for playing as an instrument (1916, vol. 1, pp. 97, 99), but schoolboys I saw insisted, after making several kinkiul (pl. 12, f) that what they had made were kinkiul and not kullkull; the kullkull were made of cow's horn, and kinkiul of chupón, they declared. A boy, in making a kinkiul, used two blades (sword-shaped) of the chupón. He made a tight roll of one blade, beginning with the pointed end, and just before he rolled the last of the blade, he inserted the pointed end of the second blade and continued the rolling. When the second blade was completely rolled upon the first, the roll was tied securely with a strand of fiber. The point of the first blade was then gotten hold of with first finger and thumb, and gently drawn forward until the whole formed a telescope. The narrow end served as the mouthpiece. If the mouthpiece is large and the telescope short, low tones are produced; if the mouthpiece is narrow and the telescope long, high tones. 534

No panpipes were seen in the field. But two of stone, each with four openings, were seen in the Museo Araucano de Temuco (Nos. 775 and 776). They are, respectively, 4½ inches long and 2 inches wide, and 4¾ inches long and 2½ inches wide.

Non-Araucanian instruments in use today are the guitar and the harmonica. Both are played by men and are used for recreational purposes only. A young Alepúe man who owned a harmonica carried it in his pocket and was always ready to entertain any group. The owner of a guitar, a young Alepúe man, played at get-togethers and fiestas. He had standing invitations everywhere to do so. One or several persons usually accompanied his playing with songs, or one or two couples danced the cueca to the rhythm. The sounds of either instrument drew a crowd. Encores were spontaneous, and handclapping prolonged playing for hours. 534 177

According to my informants, the Araucanians had no social dances in the early days. One wonders, however, about the origin of the national dance of Chile, known to Chileans as cueca, the Spanish pronunciation of the Araucanian name for the dance—chiuke (cheu) (pl. 13, j and k). Other social dances enjoyed by Araucanians today, for which there are no Araucanian names, are the polka, the corrido, the waltz, and the mazurka. These are spoken of by Araucanians as danzas; the chiuke, as baile. Old informants recognized the word "baile" as a Spanish word, but noted that their people must have been dancing the chiuke for a long period of time, since the word "baile" seemed like an Araucanian word to them. 535

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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture. 776 [171]

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepúe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place." [775 177]

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaiwilu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.) 776 773

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hell). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques- 775 carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Coñaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 000

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 270-274).
>
> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

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[illegible] ordinarily succeeded him. If the oldest son was a minor, the deceased father's brother or nearest male relative assumed the office until the son grew up. If the deceased left no male offspring, the office went to one of the nearest consanguineal or affinal kin. In some cases, where the heir was unfit or incompetent, some other man would assume the office.

Decisions regarding peacetime affairs and warlike undertakings were usually made in conference of the responsible men and sub-heads at the house or meeting-ground of the head or "chief" after free expression of views and by common agreement.

648 At the time of the present study the Araucanians were adjusting to the general laws of Chile, both provincial and national, and to regulations laid down specifically for them by the Chilean Government.

●177 Basic customs of the early government, however, were discernible.
The head of the Araucanian local unit of government is, as formerly,
622 the ül'me, now generally spoken of as cacique (the Spanish word for
627 Indian chief); as in former times, the cacique is assisted by a man of
his choice, known as lepin. The cacique is looked to for leadership when it is required. His powers of law interpretation, however, have been taken over, to a large degree, by Jurgodos de Indios (Chilean courts of justice for Indians) and those of law enforcement by the carabineros (Chilean police guards). In the early days the cacique could inflict death as a punishment in certain cases. The legislative power, which formerly rested in the male population acting as a body, still functions today, but is restricted largely to passing petitions on to the Chilean Government.

657 A part of the land traditionally occupied by the Araucanians has
been made secure to them by the Chilean Government and is known by
648 the Spanish word reducción. Chilean regulations for Indians affect the
621 entire reducción. The Araucanians themselves know the boundaries
of the reducción and respect the Chilean regulations regarding Indians, and, with the cognizance of the Chilean Government, carry on within the reducción, in modified form, their traditional government in political-economic units known as witran mapu. A witran mapu
[423] consists of the land laid claim to, occupied, and cultivated by a group
of related families, plus the land owned in common by them. Common land is wooded land, within the area of occupancy, not yet cleared for grazing or agricultural purposes. Each witran mapu has a name. The related families within a witran mapu are known as a kunpém. There are no villages.

621 The cacique of Alepúe gave the following list of witran mapu in Alepúe area today and the related families in each: Alepúe, family Lienlaf; Chan Chan, family Martin; Pelluco, family Imigo; Mehuin, families Huechenan, Manelpán, and Marilaf; Maiquillahue, family

231 been nor alpacas were kept. At the beginning of the sixteenth century horned cattle, sheep, pigs, and chickens were taken over; and after the middle of that century the horse was adopted, taken both by theft and as spoils of war from the Spanish. Some of my old informants recalled the days of the llama; those who had lived in Argentina spoke of the guanaco.

At present domesticated animals are horses, oxen, cattle, sheep, chickens, turkeys, dogs, and cats. Every member of the family owns at least one horse; some have several; and all Araucanians are accomplished horsemen. Horses are bred primarily for transporting humans, although sometimes one is used as a pack animal. Occasionally, horses are sold to Chilean cattle dealers from San José de Mariquina, Valdivia, and Villarrica. Horse meat was never a staple food, but it was eaten by some on the occasion of a marriage, and, until recent times, meat of a deceased man's favorite horse was eaten following the man's burial.

Next to his land, oxen are an Araucanian's most prized possessions. They are usually owned by men; only occasionally by a woman or a child. A man not infrequently has two pairs; rarely, three. Oxen are used for transportation—hitched to a cart or to an object that needs [426] to be hauled—and for plowing. When ready money is needed, they are mortgaged or are sold at a good price.

233 Cattle are raised for family consumption and are also sold to Chilean cattle buyers. Milk as such is not a food, but in very recent [262 times women have used it to make cheese, having learned the process ● 177] from non-Araucanians in the area. Although all members of a family may own cattle, most of the herd usually belongs to the father. "Most [422] certainly women own horses and cows and sheep, before and after they are married," said a 45-year-old woman. "All through life women own their own property!"

Each family owns a flock of sheep, and, in addition, individual sheep are often owned by each member of the family, unless the family has no grazing land, and has not sufficient money to lease any. "That family is so poor that it does not even have sheep," is an expression that tells of real poverty.

Mutton and lamb are staple foods. Sheep and raw wool, and also products woven from wool—blankets and ponchos, choapinos and lamas—are sold to Chileans. Chileans use blankets as bed coverings; lamas and choapinos as rugs or furniture throws; ponchos are worn by men as a protection against rain and winds, especially when riding horseback. To prevent sarna, a disease that causes them to lose their

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252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Rukas are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros or pails. Children usually fetch it. [85]

272 177 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 31, 3). This drink was only recently introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it. [15]

275 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

264 [871] On school days, in homes where there are children of school age, the above routine cannot be followed, for "children must be at school early." A partial meal, then, is usually eaten in the early morning and a full meal after the children return from school. Schools furnish a midday snack of toasted wheat in sugar-sweetened water.

[352] Meals are eaten around the fireplace seated either on the ground on folded sheep pelts, or on low benches, stools, or tree-trunk sections. "Formerly we had no benches; we sat on pelts and rugs on the ground." The food is served in bowls or on plates. No tables are used. The woman serves her husband and visiting adults first, then the children, and then herself; but all eat together. According to Cooper's sources, men used to eat together, and women apart from them (1946, p. 708), a custom not known to my informants.

THE RUKA: CONSTRUCTION, LIGHTING, FURNISHINGS, STORAGE

342 The ruka is the home of the Araucanian. Formerly, according to Cooper's sources, ruka were commonly oval, polygonal, or rectangular in ground plan, and generally the framework was of timber or cane and the roof of thatch reaching nearly or quite to the ground level. However, as early as 1551 there were well-built ruka of large planks around Imperial (the Boroa area), many of these large ones with four to eight entrances (1946, pp. 707-708).

Today nearly all ruka are rectangular. The framework is of planks, and roofs are gabled or lean-to in shape (pls. 32, 33). Walls and roof combinations fall predominantly into three types: walls and roof both of thatch—this is the oldest combination; walls of planks and roof of thatch; and walls of planks and roof of logs. One shingled and several tin roofs were seen, but these were exceptional.

In Alepúe area men began building plank houses after they had helped to build the Sisters' home and school, where they assisted non-Araucanians in hewing lumber from logs. In Coñaripe area building with planks was the result of contact and observation at a recently established Chilean-owned lumber camp in an Andean valley nearby. Men not directly engaged at the lumber mill felled and hauled logs to the mill. A non-Araucanian herbalist of the area commented on the [177] rapidity with which the traditional thatched ruka was replaced by the one-room plank ruka, usually two such ruka to a family, after the men began to work at or for the lumber mill. One of the two ruka was used for sleeping and the other for cooking and indoor work in the winter. In the summer most families cook and work outdoors, either under sun shelters, behind windbreaks, or in the shade of trees

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invited also. Several of the men set out immediately to collect thatch; 342 ratonera (pl. 54, 1) is preferred for this, but is now nearly extinct; informants thought that intensive grazing in recent years had destroyed most of it. Substitutes for ratonera are chupón, bulrushes, [824] reeds, and sedge, wherever found. While some men are collecting the thatch, others strip twigs off the colihüe poles; some begin to erect the framework, others tie the colihüe poles to the framework, and still others tie together the rafters and tie beams. All tying is done with moist voqui (pl. 54, 2). Nearly all the men lend a hand when rafters are raised and the ridgepole is attached. Walls and roof are then built up with layers of thatch. Thatch is fastened with roots outward; each layer slightly overlaps the one below it, and is secured in position by means of voqui applied with a twining technique. Once the thatch is in place, colihüe poles are fastened horizontally across the upper ends of each row of thatch, and are tied to the framework at intervals beneath the thatch. Building a ruka usually takes a day.

Women, as a rule, do not assist in the erecting of a ruka, but by [468] the time it has been built, they are ready to serve an abundant meal. "After everyone has eaten, the men, and everyone else also, sings this song [informant sang it in Araucanian]: 'If I had a beautiful sun, if I had a nice moon, I would enter into this house to greet the wife of the rich man.'" Much wine, if available, and chicha are drunk at the end of the meal; if there is a sufficient amount, many drink to intoxication.

A 33-year old Coñaripe man explained the building of the split-log [177] roof found on some plank houses in his area. "The Mapuche copied these from the Chileans," he noted. "Peeled logs are split lengthwise and a good portion of the core removed. A row of these split, hollowed-out logs is laid across the roof leaving space between them to allow ventilation and smoke exits. Then a second row of the split hollowed-out logs is placed over the first, but in inverted position so that the sides of each log rest in the hollow of two other logs beneath it. In this position the logs are a watershed, give ventilation, and allow the smoke to find a way out."

A ruka is the property of the family; but it is spoken of as belonging to the father. [428] Upon the father's death, the mother inherits it, and upon her death, it belongs to those who happen to live there at the time of her death.

The interior walls and ceiling of the ruka are unfinished. Ceilings 354 are generally coated with hardened, glistening soot from smoke. The open fireplace not only serves for cooking purposes, but gives light and warmth As well

He then makes a duplicate and soaks both in water. When they are soft, he places a foot on each, brings the edge over the foot by pulling up the lacing, which he ties in a knot over the toes, and goes about his work. "The dried trams are then like a fitted shoe," remarked the interpreter. Sometimes a sole of wood is inserted; temu is preferred for this because of its flexibility. 291

Today, clothing of preschool and school-age boys consists of knee-length pants, shirt, and sweater or coat, and usually a poncho. (Pls. 5; 7, *1*; 8; 9, *1*; 11, *1*, *3*; 12.) Boys' pants are usually made of new cloth bought in Chilean stores; occasionally they are made from a piece of chamall or a man's worn pants, but usually a man's pants are mended until they finally fall apart. Men do their own sewing by hand. Women or older girls do the knitting. A small boy's pants are sometimes knitted from yarn; so are sweaters. Shirts and coats are either bought in stores or made from worn ones of men. In Coñaripe nearly every boy between 2 and 11 years of age wore a sleeveless, short-legged coverall knitted of homespun yarn of a natural brown color, or dyed a deeper brown. It was usually knitted by the mother or an older sister—occasionally by the boy himself. Knitting was introduced by non-Araucanian teachers in recent years. Ponchos were woven of yarn. 291 294 [177] ●

In general boys were barefoot; an occasional one in Coñaripe area wore ojotas to school. Any boy wearing shoes gives evidence thereby that his parents are people of means. A fond aunt who could not afford shoes put stockings on her little nephew when his picture was about to be taken (pl. 4, *1*), as stockings give greater prestige than do bare feet. Hats, too, were a sign of a standard of living higher than mere necessities. More hats than shoes were seen on boys in all areas. Boys who had hats wore them at fiestas, when going to town or to church services, when bringing messages or mail to the writer, when having a picture taken, and occasionally at school. Younger boys wore knitted berets (pl. 8, *1*). A 2-year-old Coñaripe area boy wore a cap, "because the sun shining on his head makes him sick," said his 19-year-old sister. 291

Regarding women's clothing and accessories the 70-year-old Panguipulli man said the following articles were the customary ones when he was a child: a kupam (dress, homewoven of black yarn); an ikülla or ikulla (shawl woven of black yarn); a trariwe (belt); two akucha (stickpins), one used in pinning the dress and the other the shawl; a trarilonko (headband of silver medallions) or a llelleipatrowe (headband ornamented with little silver studs) or an undecorated woven band—all worn to keep the hair from the face; and 291 301 291 302

101 The Argentine Araucanians at present speak of themselves variously as manzaneros (people who live where apples grow), and/or as paisanos (indigenous people) from a specific area, such as Pilpil or Trompul, or as people belonging to the jurisdiction of a cacique. All non-Araucanians are called huinka (non-Araucanian or Christian). Quoting Kolupan, "When we say we are manzaneros and you are huinka, it is the same as saying people are French or German or Swiss or English" (people who lived in the area and were known to him).

177 169 The Argentine Araucanians are decidedly more acculturated than are the Chilean Araucanians. The impact of Argentine Government regulations and impositions and the immediate contact with Argentine ways of living have resulted in changes similar to those inflicted on the American Indian through subjugation by the American Government and the Indians' contact with Whites within our own recent history.

[161] The largest number of Araucanians in Argentina—approximately 3,500 persons—live in territory Neuquén, the total population of which is 84,378, according to the Argentine census of 1947.

Culturally the Argentine Araucanians, in pre-Spanish days, were hunters; in post-Spanish days they raised sheep, cattle, and horses, and to a small degree were interested in horticulture and agriculture, which economic life has persisted until the present time. Linguistically [147] they belong to the Araucanian family, along with the Chilean Araucanians.

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

842 No informant knew the Araucanian words for sterility, fertility, or contraceptive devices. None could give any reason for sterility, and no way of producing fertility was known. Nor were contraceptive devices known. "We hear about them today. Those who have five or six children want to go to Argentine doctors to get something so they will have no more; they say these doctors know about this. I am certain that no Araucanian could give them information on it. The Araucanians wanted children; they considered many children a blessing." Ill health on the part of the woman was given as the only reason for not having many children. "My daughter had one child and regretted she had no more; but she was never well after that first child was born."

The chaff is removed on a windy day by letting the wind blow through the kernels as they are slowly let fall off a spadelike wooden implement with which they are lifted off the ground. Before using the grain as food, it is winnowed on a winnowing tray or, if the family lacks one, in a pan or dish. 243

Non-Araucanian informants noted that horticulture probably had its beginning among the Araucanians with the introduction of the apple tree. The fact that there is no Araucanian word for apple—the Spanish word, manzana, is used—strengthens the belief. Today groves of wild apple trees (manzana silvestre), producing hard, sour apples, are found scattered throughout the Araucanian country, near creeks, rivers, and lakes, from Pulmarí to San Martín de los Andes; single trees or three or four of them can often be seen at springs, probably locations of former homesteads (pl. 69, 3). The southernmost grove is near Meliquina (close to lat. 41° S.); a forest of them is found near Lake Aluminé (just north of lat. 39° S.). It is said that these cultivated groves and forests resulted from former cultivated ones, and that from their locations one can infer that in the days when settlements had to be accommodated to grazing lands, tolderías were erected nearby at harvest time. Groves of old trees already existed when informants were young. It is interesting to note that the araucaria (pl. 72, 3) are found mainly between latitude 37° and 40° S., practically the same area in which the wild apple is found. 245 [177]

The personnel of the Intendencia de Parque Nacional de Lanín believe that some wild-apple trees are 300 years or more old. A casual sample felled in 1950 had 180 rings, "and it was not an old or very large tree." In general it is believed that Jesuit Fathers introduced the apple trees from Chile in the seventeenth century. Tree-ring dating might verify the time of introduction.

Today cultivated apple, peach, plum, and cherry trees are seen about many homes. Every family has a vegetable garden. Gardens are worked with hoes. Women plant the seeds by hand. Informants were raising potatoes, beans, peas, corn, cabbage, lettuce, garlic, and cilantro. Several women were also raising medicinal plants, most frequent among them, toronjil. There is a belief that wheat, potatoes, beans, and peas must be planted during the first quarter of the moon if a good harvest is desired; planting them at any other time will result in an abundance of leaves but a scanty yield. 244 [246] [249]

An occasional garden and field, today, is fenced in (pls. 64, 1; 70, 1; 76, 3); many more need to be fenced to keep sheep and cattle out. More glades could be planted with wheat if they could be protected against grazing animals. Material for fences is difficult to obtain. 231 417

242 barley (kawella); cultivated grains were wheat (kachilla) and corn (tapalwa). In later years oats (huinca kawella) were added to these.

252 Whole grain and grain ground to flour with a muller on a metate were used in preparing tortillas, catuto, [illegible], [illegible], mote, [illegible] [illegible], and [illegible]. European breads made of flour were added to these in recent years. Tortillas were made by mixing flour with water and salt, flattening pieces of the dough between the palms of the hands and baking them in hot ashes. Catuto was whole cooked grain, generally wheat, well crushed with a muller on a metate and formed into a loaf. Pieces were either eaten directly from the loaf or fried in grease.

To make [illegible], grain and hot sand were continuously stirred by means of two sticks in a [illegible]-cornered piece of pottery, known as [illegible], made for the purpose. As the hulls of the grain were released, they were pushed over the edge of the [illegible]. When the grain was sufficiently roasted, the [illegible] was emptied into a [illegible], a sievelike basket, which was shaken to cause the sand to fall out. The grain cleared of sand was winnowed on a [illegible] (winnowing tray), ground to flour on a metate, and then cooked.

Mote was wheat cooked in water with ashes of [illegible]. Ashes were washed off the cooked wheat in running water, and the wheat eaten warm or cold. [illegible] [illegible] was flour mixed with salt and water and fried in deep fat. [illegible] was toasted wheat kernels. [illegible] was not identified. Occasionally today each of the above dishes is prepared.

In addition to wild grains, wild plants used as food were roots and leaves of napor (unidentified), leaves of watercress (berro), roots and tops of apio or [illegible], and roots of achicoria. "Achicoria is best just as the plant pushes through the sand."

[17] Potatoes were cultivated even in the early days. The custom of fermenting them ([illegible] poñi) by depositing them in a hole drained by running water, it appears, was learned from Chilean Araucanians in recent years. A man in his early fifties and a woman in her eighties had not seen potatoes prepared in this way; several informants, on the other hand, knew the location of holes used for the purpose.

Fermented potatoes were peeled and grated, and salt and grease were well worked into them by hand. They were eaten either raw or cooked. If the mixture was to be cooked, small portions were flattened between the hands and baked in hot ashes like tortillas, or rolled between the hands to form "one long sausage" and wound around a pole. The pole was then either laid horizontally across the fireplace or planted in a leaning position at the edge of it.

Unfermented raw potatoes ([illegible] poñi) were grated and allowed

Foreword

This is the first of a new series of University of Illinois monographs 121
that will cover the various fields of anthropology. Some of these monographs will include research of the studies of Cultural Regularities, a program of which Louis Faron was a member for several years.

Studies of Cultural Regularities are primarily concerned with identifying cross-cultural regularities or similarities as well as differences in the acculturation of native societies under the impact of the larger Western world. Faron's study of the Araucanian Indians of Chile was carried out in the field and written by 1956. Subsequently, a grant from the Ford Foundation permitted a more ambitious and systematic approach to this broad problem by a larger staff. These results will be published subsequently. In the course of this research, we have recognized several major considerations that must be accorded primary attention and that illuminate Faron's monograph.

First, since European influence has been exerted upon nearly all 121
native populations for many decades and upon many for several cen- 177
turies, it is necessary to identify the base culture or base line from which acculturation or change is reckoned. This base culture will be characterized in part by its distinctive aboriginal tradition or patterns, in part by whether the society had developed only to the level of a small, autonomous, kin-based community or was integrated in some larger chiefdom, state, or empire, and in part by whether it began to

121 177 change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

121 Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evident. 114 121 The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from [114
earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept 121]
that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary
continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances,
since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological
studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts
of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis 121
rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal [122]
base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a
year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing
the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish 175
culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that 177
the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent
local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys
of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility
and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also
disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the [648]
continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was
surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern
conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little- 121
known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial 177
Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were 648
one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated [161]
at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly
efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that
of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps
owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of
them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South
America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern
Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians
either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the
new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying
action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the
1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement
or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural 177
base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. [121]
This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

[177] South American Indians, who were deeply influenced by the Spanish at a very early time. Like the Hopi, Zuni, Navajo, and others, whose reservations have retarded the impact of European culture, the Araucanians have remained in comparative cultural isolation. The society in 1883, however, was certainly not aboriginal in all respects, for the mobility, shifting alliances, and changing kinship affiliations during three centuries had surely left their mark. After 1883, warfare [61] ceased, population grew although new lands were not accessible, fragmented kinship units developed into localized, corporate patrilineages on the reservations, and the proximity of patrilineages to one another within the delimited territory of a reservation set a new context for marriage preferences, participation in ceremonies, and cooperation in economic activities. Earlier practices acquired new forms and functions. The chief ceased to have a military role, but his economic, political, and ceremonial leadership was extended to all people on his reservation, whether or not they were his kin. (Owing to the importance of this new religious morality, Faron plans a separate, full-length monograph on the subject.) On the reservations, marriage patterns were also altered, ceremonial participation was enlarged, and interpersonal relations acquired new dimensions. These are evolutionary changes that resulted essentially from the reservation situation.

Meanwhile, outside influences began to penetrate the society, and while social isolation may have retarded them, as on North American reservations, it could not stem them. Most important, there were new economic factors. The production of cash crops to meet the need [433] for money rather than production solely of subsistence crops has affected land use and land tenure in ways found throughout the world. [423] Among the Araucanians, cash cropping led to individual usufruct rights and often to assignment of land in severalty to individual men and women, rather than to lineages, and to land rentals and sharecropping. Such land tenure weakened the economic functions of the corporate patrilineage. The growing tendency of Chilean law to [648] utilize policemen and courts in dealing directly with individuals regarding crimes and torts is weakening chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. There is political representation in the local and national governments, and factionalism that accompanies it. There is [212] literacy, which opens the door for increased understanding of and participation in national affairs. Improved transportation is bringing the Indians into closer relationship with Chilean institutions and into more face-to-face contacts with Chileans. And the surplus population is being drained off each year to be lost in the Chilean town and rural population. [907] [6-7]

At the same time, the Araucanian culture, although now a subculture of Chile, continues to be a very distinctive ethnic entity. House types, shamanism, lineage communalism, beliefs in gods, nature spirits, ghosts, and witchcraft, and even lineage-based political activities persist. Patrilineal reckoning still predominates. Many home crafts are still carried on. Faron does not see this modern culture as a mixture of aboriginal bits with modern Chilean customs, nor conceive it as creole or mestizo, part native and part Spanish. He does not consider that the Araucanian culture is doomed in the immediate future. The modern culture is an adaptation to reservation life of the earlier culture of the warring period which itself had a strong continuity with the aboriginal culture. The contemporary Indians will change only gradually so long as the reservations assure them land and a certain isolation.

To place the present monograph in the perspective of the larger objectives of the Studies of Cultural Regularities, we may say first that the base-line culture is that of a tribal society which had been affected by three centuries of warfare against the Spaniards, though not deeply penetrated by Spanish institutions – for example, by the religious brotherhoods and the ceremonial calendar which were so widely imposed on other South American Indians. It is a modified aboriginal culture that was guaranteed peace and placed in comparative isolation on reservations. Second, the influences from the larger society upon the Araucanians during the past seventy-six years are largely those of a preindustrial society mediated through reservation institutions. In fact, the principal aspect of the acculturational context since 1884 is the reservation situation rather than intimate mingling with the basic rural and urban population of Chile. At the same time, much of this basic population outside the reservations has an ancestry of Indians, largely Araucanian, who were earlier assimilated or who spilled over as surplus population from the reservations.

I venture the prognosis that in the course of time the Araucanians will become less distinguishable from their fellow farmers throughout the nation – that in the long run the reservations will have served to retard acculturation but not fundamentally to change its direction. Such aboriginal institutions as persist today will doubtless be readapted functionally as the total social pattern continues to evolve, [illegible] while the latter will approach types that are emerging among rural populations in many other parts of the world. Underlying processes everywhere will include improved farm methods, access to markets, acceptance of national laws including concepts of land tenure in severalty, greater literacy, and increasing face-to-face contacts with the basic national population. These processes are breaking down lineage units, enhancing the importance of individual effort and cash returns, creating new class alignments based upon wealth, and gradually secularizing values and attitudes. While these processes have barely begun, let alone culminated, they were clearly discernible among the Araucanians.

JULIAN H. STEWARD

Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche 121
(Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I [114]
lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled 177
for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which 648
have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society, 121

[2] to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor [72] Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I dis- [114] agree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but [177] I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing *culture* ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:98). Cooper made the point that "*Araucanian* culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most ob- [171] vious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society [182] a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the prereservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all. [124] 177 [172]

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrium. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

[124] The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. [124] 177 It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

121 177 here, mainly because – in the absence of an obliterative legislative act – I have no way of knowing, on the basis of internal evidence, how such change will be effected or how long it might take.

A consideration of continuity and change involves a discussion of the historical processes in operation, to which I shall refer time and again in the chapters of this book. While it seems undeniable that a knowledge of the history of an institution does not of itself provide an understanding of the immediate function of that institution, the documented history of a people nevertheless enables one to make certain insightful statements about their contemporary social structure. Historical knowledge, for example, makes it possible for me to state flatly that there has been a significant change in the structure of Mapuche society since the institution of the present reservation system in 1884, and forces me to take the reservation system itself into account as part of the over-all structure of Mapuche society. The reservation system implies changes in both the physical and social environment of the Mapuche and its existence has been instrumental in the reintegration of Mapuche society.

182 177 611 628 A patrilineal system of descent, important in the inheritance of both material and intangible wealth, has long been an integrative force in Mapuche society – throughout all its known phases of development (Faron, 1956, 1960, and 1961). But localized, corporate patrilineages exist today where there were none formerly. The principle of patrilineality has endured, but there has occurred a reintegration of social units around it. The Mapuche have long indicated a preference for multiple marriage links between households. Since reservation times this tendency has crystallized into a characteristically distinctive system of fixed wife-giving and wife-receiving units, a structure of preferential matrilateral marriage which serves to define exogamic groupings and place interpersonal relationships in a kinship framework encompassing several reservation communities. The long-held belief in family-based ancestor propitiation is today given 769 794 expression in multireservational ritual congregations which hold fertility ceremonies and funeral services fundamental to the moral structure of Mapuche society. These are structures dependent for their existence on the reservation system which has restricted the land area, given a different emphasis to the economy, caused population units to become immobilized, and permitted distinct localized descent groups to remain in sustained relationship. These relationships are alien to Chilean society and involve beliefs and activities incomprehensible

to most Chileans. They are partly explainable in the idiom of cultural 182
continuity, partly as a series of modifications associated with ecological 177
adjustment. Taken together, these explanations express a reintegration
of Mapuche society.

The purely economic and political aspects of ecological adaptation seem to be taking the Mapuche into an area of social relationship which is usually discussed under the rubric of "acculturation" — that is, toward integration with the regional expression of Chilean society. I will have more to say about this, mainly to show that where these so-called acculturative forces have been felt they by no means have appreciably affected the basic structure of Mapuche society. They have certainly not caused Mapuche society to "disintegrate" or to become "virtually indistinguishable" from white segments of Chilean society. Gaining a livelihood and maintaining a political front within the context of colonial status seem to be two areas in which Mapuche social institutions might be expected to break down, to change radically. That this has not occurred seems to speak for the sustaining force of such institutions as patrilineality, matrilateral marriage, and the panoply of religious morality. This is not to say that Mapuche society 121
will not undergo structural change in the future but, rather, to call attention to the need for analyzing Mapuche society in its present phase of structural equilibrium. Learned guessing about the ultimate destiny of "moribund" societies might well be part of the anthropologist's bag of tricks. I do not deny its limited usefulness. I contend, however, that one might easily predict the eventual passing of the Mapuche without having learned anything about Mapuche society or even without setting foot in Chile. I question only the value of this sort of prediction, especially when it is in the form of an ex cathedra statement by a professional anthropologist. I prefer to direct my attention to the following proposition: a tenaciously stable social system, in the face of colonial opposition, sows the seeds of its destruction through the very inflexibility which makes adaptation to a new social and natural environment most difficult. The social system which survives does so as long as it adjusts to new conditions *within* the matrix of traditional social institutions. Such adaptation is the antithesis of acculturation.

I would now like to thank those persons who have contributed directly 000
to the preparation of this book. I am indebted to Professor G. P. Murdock for his helpful criticism of several chapters of an earlier draft and for his generally encouraging comments. I thank especially

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean [177]
society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement [648]
on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory.
Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified
throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the [128]
most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total
physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to
survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more |31|
than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central |61|
Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over [162]
half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the
heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which |101|

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[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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2

The Agrarian Setting

A 177 Mapuche society owes many of its economic characteristics to long-established relationship with a provincial segment of Chilean society. A 241 462 A major ecological adjustment was made after the reservation system was instituted, a modification which involved a change from desultory garden horticulture, performed by women, to field farming and the adoption of many non-Mapuche agricultural techniques. Today, farming is primarily man's work. Some of the more important changes involving the allotment and use of land by both white settlers and reservation Indians are discussed in this chapter. It should be kept in mind that the reservation system limits the amount of land available to Mapuche and Chilean alike, although the system is more restrictive with regard to the Mapuche.[1]

FUNDOS AND PARCELAS

A 648 C 166 With the conclusion of the Mapuche rebellion of 1880-82 there was an upsurge in colonization that led to the establishment of towns, roads, and railroads throughout Araucanía. In 1891 the central rail-

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[1] Reference to Map I will give an impression of the distribution of reservations in Cautín Province, although all areas have not been fully mapped. There are no adequate data for the distribution of Mapuche reservations south of the line which might be drawn between the town of Toltén and Lake Villarrica, but there are numerous reservations in this area.

RESERVATIONS

175 433 222 [231] It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

241 177 Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory
[361] cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled
[433] [262] colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

[462] In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

ne, and involved skirmishing and preparation for battle. Today, 241 women cultivate gardens and men do field work. The transition to [177] this situation seems to have been entirely dependent upon the cessation [462] of hostilities and accommodation to reservation living.

resent-day Mapuche agricultural technology varies from the highly conservative hoe-and-dibble cultivation of vegetable gardens [242] and small fields to the fullest utilization of modern farm machinery, and from complete lack of soil conservation to adequate rotation of crops, fields, and the application of fertilizer. Between these extremes are a number of agricultural techniques which, taken as a whole, characterize Mapuche farming operations.

n general, a steel plow is used in the preparation of fields, and ox 241 traction prevails almost to the exclusion of horses. Wooden plows 407 (a*ns de cabo*) are occasionally employed, principally along the coast, [492] if the ground is especially full of roots and it is feared that the steel [184] plow may be blunted or its tip broken. If [illegible] wooden plow breaks, it can be replaced or repaired fairly easily. The cost of repairing or replacing a steel plow is prohibitive, and breaking the steel point is considered a very great misfortune. The single-share plow is one of the most expensive pieces of equipment owned by the Mapuche.

xen are said to be preferred to horses for plowing, and the technique 241 of handling plow horses is not generally known. This also holds 492 for Chilean farmers in the region. It is further maintained that oxen provide more traction than horses and greater durability. It is certain that they require less expensive fodder and less care.

Working about eight hours a day with a single team of oxen and 241 a steel plow, a man needs about three days to plow two hectares of 461 land, which is perhaps all or at least half of the field acreage used by many Mapuche in any one year. Fields often receive a second plowing, rarely a third. If a second plowing is made, the pattern is to make furrows which crosscut each other. This is primarily to break up the clods, rather than to hold rain water. A third plowing is usually diagonal to the first two.

If the second or third plowing takes place in the planting season, 241 the seeds may simply be broadcast before the final plowing, provided the *barbecho* has not been prepared too long in advance and the land has remained fairly soft. Otherwise, the field will be plowed prior to broadcasting the seeds and then harrowed just after the sowing. The [407] triangular-type harrow is the most common one in general use, having either wooden or iron-spike teeth. A heavy log roller (*rodón*) may be

ventory of *chacarería* on the reservations, but are sometimes raised by 241
Chilean farmers. Within the last few years, some Mapuche near
Temuco have begun to grow sunflowers in small amounts wholly for [439]
sale. Manure fertilizer is used to enrich the garden crops, but *chaca-*
rería such as peas, beans, and potatoes are not fertilized if grown in
large quantity in the fields.

Since 1949 the province has been suffering from a severe potato 731
blight which has literally reduced to near starvation some of the res- 244
ervation groups living in the coastal zone where potatoes are of [262]
great importance and once formed a major part of the diet. Mapuche
living in the Central Valley, where wheat is the principal crop, have [243]
been less affected. In the Andean region, where the blight seems not
to have been as devastating, and where oca is something of a substitute
for potatoes, the blight's effects have not been very serious.

Harvesting techniques range from hand-sickle operations to com- 243
bine harvesting. While the former is practiced by virtually every 407
Mapuche farmer, at least for part of his crops, the latter practice is
rarely encountered on the reservations. A combine is used only when [427]
provided by a Chilean farmer who is working in half-shares with an [248]
Indian. However, ox-drawn harvesters (*epicadoras*) are rather widely
used in the Central Valley reservations. They are used primarily for
harvesting wheat and are rented to individual Mapuche farmers by [427]
fundo owners or entrepreneurs who live in the towns. As the harvest
operations get under way, harvesters tour the region outlying Temuco
and other towns. They are rented for a percentage of the harvest,
rather than for cash. Threshing machines are also made available to
Mapuche under similar conditions.

There is a pronounced receptivity to "modern" farm machinery 243
among the Mapuche. Although the rented equipment usually clears 407
a field in a few hours at most, which otherwise would have taken an 433 [777]
individual family several days to harvest by hand, the rental price [427]
seems out of proportion to the labor saved (and is often immediately
regretted by the Mapuche), especially in view of the fact that the
harvest returns may be as little as 3 or 4:1, as they were in both 1952
and 1953 in many parts of the reservation area. Indeed, returns are
sometimes so small that family members scour a harvested field for
spikes of wheat untouched by the machine and salvage grain left on
the ground after the threshing machine moves to another part of the
reservation. On three or four hectares of land, these gleanings may

177 From the foregoing account it is clear that the Mapuche and their
24 peasant neighbors approximate one another in the area of agricul-
tural technology and, to some extent, production goals. Techno-
logical adjustments have had their effect on economic organization
on the reservations but, in themselves, have not brought about basic
changes in the economic structure. The new technology is merely
permissive of economic change. The fact that the Mapuche and their
Chilean neighbors may be said to use some of the same tools for like
purposes does not make them socially similar, nor does the fact that
the Mapuche are in some respects economically dependent on Chile-
ans. But the reallocation of land under the reservation program is a
[423] change of a different order. Land available to the Mapuche is quite
limited, whereas it was formerly almost unlimited. Today, the Ma-
puche are perhaps less concerned with the defense of their ancestral
territory than with the preservation of their individual fields. To hold
onto their fields and make them provide for family needs, Mapuche
farmers have made a number of modifications in their economic ac-
tivities, one of which has been the adoption of a new technology.
[182] Rather than hold that this adjustment is an indication of breakdown
or social disintegration, it is possible to say that the accommodation
has enabled the Mapuche to maintain their cultural and social in-
tegrity during three-quarters of a century since the establishment of
the reservation system.

A C 311 the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

A 361 621 162 423 C 167

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	c. 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	c. 2.4 ha.

A It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living
162 on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble
[161] Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación*
(registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased
considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica)
reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in
A the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off
[169] to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

A If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees
423 who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affilia-
425 tion with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under
Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the
A forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allot-
[167] ment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the
strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to
A farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives.
[622] This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with
[621] their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire commu-
A nity.

[428] Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by
● [177] Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the
[178] Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed
A later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal
423 reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for
241 a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance
A of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reserva-
tion on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal
[427] holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are
widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a
piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reserva-
tion benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitiongd the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year. 423 425 [598] [691]

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *mingaco*, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *mingaco* occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *mingaco* is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy. 476 [241] [182] [622]

But *mingaco* has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *mingaco* used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Mingaco* is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions. 121 476 182

Recent Developments in the *Mingaco* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *mingaco* are clear. *Mingaco* seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sectors of the country. 476 [574] [177]

476 [622] [613] with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I [5A1] [D14] lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

476 17? [429] [423] The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency — as they are occasionally during emergencies — when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working [429] *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

476 [241] *Mingacos* are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under [491] [622] [623] the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders — the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there 476
might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special
to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco*
celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement
works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, how-
ever, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males [613]
of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin*, *misha*, or [608]
koncho) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis.
Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of [571]
most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, [572]
simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano*
partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual
closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* ar-
rangements are sometimes made between individuals from different [628]
reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kin-
ship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in
establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is as- 464
sociated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes 241
hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than [195]
the family can provide and when the family head is not able to en-
gage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assist-
ing his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely
hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are [465]
paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche [556]
can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the
ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco*, it may also signify
a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relation-
ships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerg-
ing wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is
quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort.
However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals
who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other [156]
arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in
other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys
from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean [648]
tarreros (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

tinues to celebrate, sometimes by eating and drinking late into the night. 243 427

Twelve per cent of the bags of harvested grain are paid to the owner [465] of the machinery, 10 per cent for the harvesting and an additional 2 per cent for the threshing. Not only is this more than the Mapuche 243 can ordinarily afford when harvests are poor, as they generally are compared to provincial averages, but machine harvesting is less thorough than hand labor. As a result, fields are often gleaned in a separate operation, usually by children of the family who then hand thresh the spikes they collect in this way. Machine operations effectively [476] eliminate any need for *mingaco*, although *vuelta mano* is often engaged in during the harvesting period. The air of festivity lingers, [574] nevertheless, and the workers are feasted, albeit not with as great expenditure of food as *mingaco* entails. The integrative aspects of com- 243 munity-wide harvesting have largely gone by the board in recent 182 times, as the Mapuche are becoming increasingly involved in the larger framework of provincial agrarian economics. The chief's and [622] the community's traditional role in harvest-season activity are being [621] bypassed, and the individual Mapuche farmers are gearing their harvest operations to the schedule of outside entrepreneurs.

LAND AND THE CONCEPT OF OWNERSHIP

Insofar as most movable goods are concerned, ownership is figured 422 in traditional ways, even to the accommodation of nontraditional possessions such as farm machinery. In general, material items used [428] by men are owned by men and pass along to males through patrilineal inheritance. Cattle may be owned by either sex and may be disposed of freely. The traditional way in which land passes along lineage lines 423 will be discussed in some detail in a later chapter, as will the reservation-period innovation whereby registered women may exercise claims to reservation land. In this section we will be concerned more with "notions" about land and their implications, rather than with inheritance practices per se.

There are two main concepts regarding land that coexist on the 423 reservations. One is the traditional concept of usufructuary rights 177 and the other is the newer notion of private ownership. All indications are that the notion of private ownership of farmland is growing stronger. It is being reinforced in a number of ways, not least of which is through the expansion of the economic and political struc-

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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

[648] A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

423 Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

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[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[114] [162] [361] [2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,100 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

442 tain. Interest rates are sometimes in excess of 100 per cent. For the
[458] most part, the Mapuche are ill at ease and naive in market and credit operations.

Markets are available to all reservation Mapuche, although the In-
[438] dians near the provincial capital, Temuco, and the larger secondary towns have stronger ties to the regional markets and are more frequently involved in a greater-than-reservation economic structure.

496 The railroad which runs through the Central Valley from north to south, and the several branch lines running east and west, service
441 the Mapuche areas. In addition, there are a number of all-weather
443 roads connecting the reservations with the regional markets. The remoter reservations are linked to the better roads, where trucks and
497 buses are available, by ox roads and foot trails which, for the most part, are not passable in the wet winter months. Because of poor
[439] transportation, for example, Mapuche are sometimes unable to sell firewood during the winter months, at a time when their food reserves
[433] are ebbing, cash is much needed, and there is a demand for firewood in the towns.

434 As a rule, Mapuche tend to sell garden produce, apples, barnyard fowl, a few pigs and sheep for the purpose of obtaining small amounts of cash for immediate use. There is always a seasonal abundance, but
[185] little or no thought of stretching it out over the year. This results in
[433] the paradox of postharvest surpluses in an economy of bare subsistence. These sales, however, enable the Indians to buy lard, kero-
[511] sene, pots, plates, knives, etc., and "luxuries" such as matches, mate
[177] (Parguayan "tea"), cigarettes, wine, clothing, and other items which represent rather newly acquired needs. One sees both men and women
[443] carrying their wares to town on trucks and buses or in oxcarts. A single chicken may be carried more than 20 kilometers and sold to make a small cash purchase.

452 Credit is scarce. For most purchases, the Mapuche is required to
[437] pay *al contado*, or cash on the barrelhead. This is especially so for small purchases, such as the items listed above, for there are very few storekeepers who are willing to keep credit accounts for Mapuche. Shopkeepers regard them as poor risks either because they are felt to be generally untrustworthy or because they are too poor to be able to liquidate their credit within a reasonably short time.

Nevertheless, Mapuche are able to raise cash or obtain seeds
[432] through credit negotiations under certain circumstances. Agents from the towns make a tour of the country in the preharvest season to in-

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493 crate with Chileans. However, this accounts for 56 of the 71 animals
649 involved in half-shares.

Reservation Huilcan: Pelchue Region. Huilcan has a total of 200
311 hectares, of which only 73 are at any time under cultivation. Not all
the unused land is unsuited for agriculture, though much of it is
covered by a growth of large trees which are only gradually being
311 cut down.

427 Ten of the thirteen resident families share land with nonresidents
641 and only two of these work with other Mapuche. No household
shares all the land it holds, but two share all their cultivated land.
Twenty-nine hectares or 40 per cent of the total under cultivation
are shared. Actually, this represents about 80 per cent of the land cultivated in any one year (1953).

433 There is great poverty in seed, equipment, and animals. The people
have been forced to sell equipment and eat their seed and animals.
The wooden plows customarily used in potato cultivation are not
[173] suitable for the cultivation of barley (which would offset the effects
[241] of the potato blight from which the community has been suffering
for the last five or more years). Much more of the total 200 hectares
could be cleared, even without modern equipment. But apparently
it is not cleared owing to a lack of ability to plant it. Even though
once cleared it could be worked on a half-share basis with Chileans,
clearing is laborious work and incentive is low.

427 On Huilcan the *mediero* system is most important with regard to
433 animals. Only five cattle are owned outright by the inhabitants. One
233 hundred cattle are pastured on a half-share basis. Since the people are
so unproductive agriculturally, they have to sell or eat most of the
increase in animals, and there is little or no accumulation.

CONCLUSION

● [197] We have come to the end of a fairly detailed account of Mapuche
[121] economy and technology vis-à-vis Chilean society. Emphasis has been
placed on the effects of ecological adaptation in a colonial setting.
The very nature of the subject matter might seem to lend itself to an
"acculturation" study of the Mapuche. I trust Part I of this book indicates that this would be an unfortunate approach to understanding
Mapuche society. Is Mapuche society in transition? Are the Mapuche
becoming acculturated? Not if by transition and acculturation it is

meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society. [177] [121]

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods. 177 [191] [797]

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three- [592] [183] [433]

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177 quarters of a century by the Mapuche themselves. The wide-eyed visiting specialist and the local Chileans, who observe the Mapuche with hooded eyes, see Mapuche "society" rather discretely or in a piecemeal fashion, if at all. They see Mapuche individuals in momentary situational adjustment to outside technical, economic, political, or religious pressures. At most, they observe these adjustments in family-sized segments of Mapuche society. Even Titiev did not *see* patrilineages. The agricultural expert is primarily interested in how Sr. Huenchulaf contours his fields, not in defining the organization of reservation agriculture. The Mapuche adjust as individuals to the questions of the anthropologist and the suggestions of the agronomist, responses which are immediately impressive to an alien eye. This [121] book deals with what lies beneath these surface phenomena.

Notions of private ownership of farmland and the need to deal in dyadic relationships with Chileans in the market-oriented economy appear, on spot analysis, to divest the Mapuche farmer of his cultural heritage. In his relationship with Chileans the Mapuche is "stupid," "withdrawn," "ashamed." True. But this stupidity, withdrawal, and shame actually constitute symbols of Mapuche social integrity.

177 182 It is to be expected, especially in view of the historical record, that economic or ecological changes will have a cumulative effect and eventually wear away the structure of Mapuche society. McBride, in 1936, predicted the disintegration of Mapuche society, casting his eye on Chilean legislation which threatened the existence of the reservations. He was neither the first nor the last to forecast imminent doom. One might even say that such was the hope of Pedro de Valdivia, for that matter. That it is a continuing hope of most Chileans is clear from congressional records. Who can doubt that Mapuche society will eventually crumble? But this is not to say that from internal evidence Mapuche absorption is in sight. Titiev predicted that the Mapuche "may yet retain some of their old ways of life" (1951:138) for a few more generations, claiming that the Mapuche are today virtually indistinguishable from Chilean peasants around them. It is also possible that a legislative act could eradicate Mapuche society much sooner than learned forecasters would have it. All of which indicates something of the futility of such broad conclusions, and points up the superficiality of the inquiry which gave rise to them.

594 182 The Mapuche family does not stand alone, apart from coresidents of the reservation community. It is on one hand linked to the market place and on the other to the larger community — the lineage seg-

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long. [99] [591] [582] [182]

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed. [124]

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

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Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized. [241] [591]

[p66 is blank]

613 [illegible] [591] concerned, conflicting principles of integration whose operation at the group level involves a certain amount of compromise (see Murdock, 1949:66).

The patrilineage is concerned primarily with matters of inheritance, marriage, and the celebration of life crises, especially insofar as the propitiation of lineage ancestors is concerned. It was formerly [illegible] the local group in blood feuds and the payment of blood money. Common residence serves to integrate the entire local group, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, recreative activities, and agricultural fertility rites. Formerly, [726] the residential group was also important in the conduct of warfare and clandestine raiding. For analytic purposes the patrilineage and the residential kingroup may be sharply differentiated on the basis of descent alone, although there is a good deal of overlap in their activities, inasmuch as males of the residential kingroup are also the core members of the patrilineage. The extent to which there is overlap underscores the degree to which in-married women are integrated into the activities of the local group. The distinction between patrilineage and residential kingroup is of further importance when the structure of multilineage organization is analyzed in terms of the reservation system.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE PATRILINEAGE

613 [illegible] [illegible] Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth. Although the Mapuche are aware of the possibility of tracing descent to the nth generation, they seldom remember consanguineal ties back beyond the great-grandparental generation (using a young adult male as point of reference). Empirically, this depth represents the limit of exact genealogical specification. There is reason to believe that even this depth is due largely to the reservation system and contingent influences associated with land use and inheritance rights.

614 [illegible] The shallowness of Mapuche lineages is consonant with and partly explained by their history of disruptive warfare, population loss, and the dispersal of social aggregates, and partly by their precarious economy of shifting horticulture and animal raising which, in turn, is understandable only in terms of their relations with a white colonial society over several centuries. Since becoming immobilized

on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized. 613 177

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de él se constituían voluntariamente para ir a establecerse a otro lugar" (190). "Aunque los araucanos vivían apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, para antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (209). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and cites the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. 114 61 177 [13] [24])

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of homeland and patrimony per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connections took on additional significance with the introduction of [59] [72] [46]) [623]

613 peaceful conditions and changes in agricultural activities. The po- [179] litical and juridical implications of these modifications will be treated in some detail later.

Diagram 1[2] shows an actual relationship chart of a patrilineage which spans five generations. Relationship is traced back to one generation beyond the original title holder of the reservation. This ancestor has already become somewhat shrouded in myth and is the only one recognized at this level of lineage organization. Nor are there any specific consanguineal ties recognized with surrounding res- 178 ervations at this generational depth. What has occurred, owing to the 613 limitations on population movement inherent in the reservation system, is that the lineage has expanded through the formation of localized branches or the process of sublineation. The development of this situation was a phenomenon of transition, a result of social and economic changes contingent upon the cessation of warfare and the establishment of a reservation system. The exceedingly broad-based structure is characteristic of dominant lineages in the expanding society; the narrow, vertical structure is characteristic of subordinate lineages whose membership has not increased apace with that of the dominant lineage.

613 For analytic purposes, the following distinctions between levels of lineage organization are useful: (1) *maximal lineage,* (2) *lineage group,* (3) *localized lineage,* (4) *sublineage,* and (5) *minimal lineage.* The Mapuche themselves do not make sharp or consistent distinctions such as these.

The maximal lineage comprises a body of kin related through males who trace descent to a common ancestor, the "founder" of the lineage. It subsumes all the other segments listed above. Both living and dead individuals are included in the maximal lineage.

The lineage group is comprised of all the living members of the maximal lineage. It is nonlocalized. This is essentially because fe- [592] males of the lineage marry out of the local group, in accordance with [591] a rule of lineage exogamy, and establish residence with their husbands' groups, in conformance with a rule of patrilocality. But there are also some males who, usually for economic reasons, have moved off their natal reservation and no longer form a part of the local group.

613 621 The localized lineage is mainly composed of a group of males who comprise the core of the residential kingroup. The female component of the localized lineage is of relatively minor importance, since fe-

[2] [See Cat. 116, P. 93--Analyst]

vation, while males tend to remain together for their entire life. 613
If a woman continues to reside with her natal group, or returns to it 618
in later life, her position is somewhat anomalous and is difficult to [591]
describe in institutional terms. Essentially, this is because women are *expected* to marry out of their natal group and only enjoy full community membership among the kin of their spouse.

Since women usually marry at an early age they do not play an important adult role in the affairs of their natal group; even if they marry late, remaining for part of their majority among patrilineal kinsmen, they rarely enjoy the full adult status accorded to in-married women of the local group. Once having married off their natal reservation, the intensity of the relationship with their natal group diminishes over time, especially if they should move to a "distant" reservation. Nevertheless, they comprise an important link between
their patrilineage and that of their husband. They are the "father's
sisters" who link preferential groups in the matrilateral marriage [582]
system.

In the case of women, much more than men, marriage and full 613
membership in a residential kingroup are closely complementary 618
statuses, and it is membership in one's husband's residential group 562
that is of greatest significance throughout adult life. However, if a woman never marries, or if she becomes widowed, separated, or divorced, and returns to her natal group, her status usually depends on her relationship with her closest male kinsman and the manner in which she manipulates kinship ties, especially in the economic sphere.

Since the institution of the present reservation policy, however, 562
women have exercised greater claims to usufructuary rights over land. 423
This has come about because women as well as men were registered 179
during the original survey and census taking at the time of the granting of the *título de merced*. Original *radicadas* (females registered at the time the reservation was established) may claim land, should they return to their natal reservation and need it for the support of themselves and their family. Their claims are honored by
the Mapuche as well as by the *Juzgado de Indios* (Indian court), but [692]
this is not a cut-and-dried recognition. For example, if agricultural land is scarce, the members of a woman's natal group might discourage her return, and, should she take her claim before the *Juzgado de Indios*, the court might decide against her if in fact there is a real shortage of land on her natal reservation. Therefore, while the fact of *radicación* (original registration) is a recognized mechanism for the

562 423 177 establishment of land rights (for a man, woman, or their heirs), extenuating circumstances such as dire shortage of farmland are conditional factors which operate in favor of the community's jurisdiction over land.

428 423 562 177 [556] [591] Land has become the principal item of wealth and is the most important part of inheritance. In prereservation days it is unlikely that land could have been inherited as private or quasi-private property — at least there is no indication of this in the literature. Today, however, females may inherit rights to land, depending on its availability and the number of eligible heirs. They may marry uxorilocally, and are sometimes sought out for marriage by landless males. As guardians for their children, they may inherit their husband's land. If a reservation should undergo *división*, a woman, as original *radicada* or as heir of a male *radicado*, may obtain severalty title to a parcel of land and, within certain restrictions imposed by Chilean law on male and female Mapuche alike, has rights of disposition equal to any man.

562 621 This feature of the inheritance system further complicates the anomalous position of women on their natal reservation. Landholders are recognized as household heads and are theoretically peers in most areas of reservation activity. But a woman's status tends to depend on her relationship to a male kinsman. It also rests to a certain extent on her ambitions and her ability to manipulate kinship ties. If she is closely related to the chief or another important male she will not suffer economic deprivation and will usually be welcomed as an ally, which enhances her status in regard to other females of the group. If she is entitled to land as well, her position as a household head approaches that of her male kinsmen and she may have a good deal of [428] [423] independence. The recognition of the right to inherit land in fact depends upon the development of strong notions of private ownership. Thus the relationships in which a female landholder becomes involved are not yet firmly structured — that is, they are largely determined by situational factors and are difficult to generalize.

613 562 589 The following two examples are illustrative of the position of women of the patrilineage. The first concerns an unmarried woman who has remained a member of her natal group into maturity. The second is a composite account of several women who returned to their natal reservation after separation from their husbands through divorce or death. The first example indicates what may be regarded as a situation of almost maximal isolation from kingroup activities and, indeed, from social interaction in general.

613 [178] [622] lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huentemil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Transito is allied [665] politically (that is, belongs to the same *indigenista* party) with the chief, and is opposed to *división*, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Transito is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severalty holdings. He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huentemil brothers comprise the most tightly knit suprahousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Transito is the son of the father's first wife. Their [428] father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huentemil than most other families,[7] a belief which is accepted by

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[551] [179] [6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish custom. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[622] [993] [7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chieftainship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

175 reservation community is needed before application for *división* may 648 be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have 423 changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

177 The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of 648 the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics 692 and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political [671] structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

648 Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals [641] and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote [666] and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province [162] with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter [664] parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national pol- [665] itics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

178 the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation
622 business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for
648 settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most
423 often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of
residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

178 In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might
622 have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could
[613] always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-
reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

178 Guevara (1929:298) argued that as new households were estab-
622 lished on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old
592 unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control
over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely
[177] that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation pro-
ceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic
178 independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and com-
622 munal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least
[823] frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evi-
dence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations; they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the
[648] powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the
area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and 128
the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater oppor- 883
tunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this 571
statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it 177
seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of 857
nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals 864
in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion
make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse 833
between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would
848 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being
578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri-
mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger
558 of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make
responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The
[177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from
a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love
[836] affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party,
through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a
more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a
growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves
a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend,
however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these de-
part from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding
ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body
of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of
supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of
beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed
against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In
68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the
[692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according
[754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur-
[682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of
[839] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this
[836] practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who
had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said
[628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or
the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close.
[754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is
[178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the
[628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category
[692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circum-
stances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly
involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which re-
sulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led
to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

Marriage may be further solemnized by Catholic rites, important less for the religious significance than because church registration and the civil registration which accompanies Chilean marriages establish the legitimacy of heirs in the framework of the national legal code. Such registration also gives a widow stronger claim to land after her husband's death, a claim which will stand up better in the Indian court against the "traditional" claim of the dead man's brothers. 585 428 [177] [671]

Kureyewen (the act of carrying off the bride), *capto*, or *robo* involves the "stealing" of the bride-to-be from her kinsmen and, in effect, is equatable with elopement. It is most often carried out with an awareness on the part of the girl's parents that marriage is in the offing, inasmuch as the young man has usually spent months or even years courting their daughter. The exact night of the elopement is kept secret, perhaps being arranged on the spur of the moment by the sweethearts. The groom might take a friend into his confidence to assist him in the escapade. If the girl's parents are known not to be especially watchful, the elopement might take place without any outside help. If the young man fails, or if there is danger of his doing so, another date is set. 583

The young man, then, "steals" his sweetheart from her family in the dark of night when the household has retired. He takes her to his parent's house equally secretively. Both families are apprised of the fact the following morning, the one by the presence of the girl, the other by her absence.

The man's family do not always know of his plan to run off with his sweetheart, and their reactions vary according to the young man's status in the household, their opinion of the girl, their relationship with her family, and the mental adjustments they have made to the young woman's presence in the house. While there are idiosyncratic reactions in these circumstances, events follow discernible patterns.

The day following the elopement, the young man, his sweetheart, and most of the members of his household sit around the fire and discuss the couple's plans and prospects. The discussion is led by the man's father, who for the first time plays a direct and forceful role in the matter regardless of how long it might have been brewing, and who usually admonishes the young couple for being too precipitous and inconveniencing their parents. Almost as a matter of form he suggests that they postpone the nuptials until they are a year or so older. Sometimes this is phrased indirectly by pointing out that the young man would have to be given a share in the family harvest, and 583 581

587 that filial inheritance of wives, if for no other reason than that filial inheritance occurs only once to an indeterminate number of the other types of marriage preceding it. A cultural rather than an arithmetical reason, however, is that males of the father's generation comprise a sibling group to which sororal and widow-inheritance rights accrue in a polygynous society, and it is with these individuals that authority is vested in the patrilineal system. Filial inheritance, therefore, seems to have been a last-ditch alternative, resorted to only when responsible males of the parental generation were lacking — a situation almost without applicability under today's reservation conditions.

582 But if we grant our predecessors' (e.g. see Cooper, 1946:719) contention that filial inheritance occurred and that it reflects a theory of marriage and intergroup relationships regardless of its incidence, why are the mother's sister and father's brother's wife normally regarded by ego as unmarriageable and treated with "much respect"? I suggest the point to be emphasized is that these women are not considered eligible as sexual or marriage partners until their husband's death leaves them once more available. And then, they are generally considered marriageable only within their own age level. Stated in other terms, these women as widows are married by ego's parental-generation kinsmen under conditions of widow inheritance and sororate. This tendency is abrogated in the practice of filial inheritance of wives, which, however, is functionally similar to the inheritance of the widow by a lineage brother of the deceased. Where other solu-
[587] tions exist, filial inheritance is not practiced. The indications from the literature, genealogies, and general oral tradition are that this has been the situation at least since the latter part of the nineteenth century. This should be kept in mind when it is alleged that Mapuche
[199] concepts of proper marriage have been considerably influenced by Chilean Christian values.

The importance of this whole discussion of incest outside the patrilineage is that it is seen by informants to concern actual individuals standing to them in a concrete relationship which results from contracted marriage. It is with the father's brother's wife and the mother's sister as married women that feelings of "much respect" are involved. Furthermore, it is with actual rather than classificatory relatives that the definition of incest is most clear — and this is where the notion of "closeness" comes in.

These are the fibers of

619 Mapuche society. They constitute a politico-religious structure which is subcolonial, in the sense that it is not recognized in Mapuche dealings with the Chilean government or other segments of non-Mapuche society.

182 771 [181] When Chileans call the Mapuche stupid, lazy, ignorant, and so forth, they frequently mention along with their inability to make economic progress the fact that they are pagan and obdurate to Christian teachings. This seems to indicate at least a dim recognition of the force of Mapuche religious morality in serving to set off Mapuche from Chilean. There is only so much economic "progress" a Mapuche can make if he is unwilling to wrench himself free of the moral system. In the political field, the "decline" in chieftainship is relative [622] [178] only to Mapuche-Chilean relationships. The ritual aspects of chieftainship are perhaps more important today than in the past, that is, before ritual congregationalism had taken its present form. In this light chieftainship has not diminished in importance, although the ground has shifted.

182 177 There are two factors of colonial pressure which, even independently, may contribute to the dissolution of Mapuche society. One, and the most immediately threatening, is that of legislative obliteration of the indigenous community through Chilean governmental action. The other is the gradual attritional effect of Western ideas which would render ineffective the contemporary structure of morality by vitiating belief in lineage-based supernaturalism and the pantheon of gods which watch over the Mapuche. As yet this latter influence has barely been felt on the reservations, and the former, the threat of legislative obliteration, has served as a rallying point for the revitalization of cultural values.

Interpretative Summary

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The Mapuche have made major adjustments to basic economic and political forces which have impinged upon them since the inception of the reservation system of 1884, but the contemporary structure of Mapuche society has been in relative equilibrium since around the turn of the century. The most outstanding accommodation made by the Mapuche has been to the reservation system itself. Mapuche society today constitutes a successful reintegration of traditional patterns within the matrix of reservation life. The success of the reintegration is measurable by the distinctiveness of Mapuche society and culture, the functional efficacy of cultural values measurable by the degree to which Mapuche society is today integrated around them in distinction to Chilean peasant society.

The policy of reducing the Mapuche to reservation living has resulted in a significant environmental change – the artificial restriction of farm and pasture land. This did not present major economic problems at first, the adjustment even strengthening existing economic and political institutions, and the entire change working against the Chilean ambition for the disintegration of Mapuche society. With expanding population the matter has become serious to the Mapuche, and the continuing accommodation difficult.

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An economic reaction to pacification and reservation life has been a change from desultory horticulture to field agriculture, with a shift

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from female-dominated to male-dominated agricultural activities, in the context of marketable surpluses in a cash-credit structure of regional economy. There has been a general introduction of wheat, oats, barley, and other European crops into the reservations as well as a gradual adoption of ox-traction plowing. Production seems to have soared and herds increased many times over during the generation or so after the inception of the reservation system, but overworking the land has since reduced productivity. The effects of a diminishing crop output are compounded by an increasing population. Mapuche technology is inadequate to cope with scarce, impoverished land and a growing population. While, as we have seen, the agricultural technologies of the Mapuche and the Chilean peasants [161] are similar if not identical – which might lead one to observe that the Indians and their neighbors are "virtually indistinguishable" – the population densities on reservations are often more than twenty times greater than on Chilean farms. This alone would suggest different ecological adaptations that would be manifested in social structure.

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The Mapuche exhibit a marked cultural consciousness in the tenacity with which they preserve traditional attributes, such as language, dress, house type, preferences for special foods prepared in characteristic ways, and many minutiae. These are features which are easily observed by the outsider. The Chilean, hopeful and purposeful, regards them as vestigial traits of a once viable and even threatening society. And they might well be viewed as vestigial traits in the long run, although it seems more insightful to regard them as symbols of the systems of kinship and marriage, politics, economics, and religion which define Mapuche society. Whatever one's judgment on this matter, these "vestigial" traits are today symbolic of Mapuche distinctiveness and are, therefore, functional attributes of Mapuche society. How one regards these Mapuche symbols depends largely on one's point of view. If one aligns himself with Chilean entrepreneurialism, Mapuche society not only appears as a moribund structure but as a sloppy pagan organization which is fair game for "enlightened" manipulation. To the extent that the latter view has acquired adherents in Chile, the legal existence of the reservation community is threatened. The threat is considerable. Mapuche society might well be legislated out of existence one of these days, confirming the predictions of scholars such as Guevara (1898), McBride (1936), and Titiev (1951). But in the fifty-three years between the published pre-

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche 177
society? Are not such predictions similiar to those which, on 182
whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies 648
from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will 105
disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, 177
projecting the best image they can muster of traditional 105
Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those [191]
rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that
is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian.
Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial [182]
offerings *should* be made in certain ways – meat, grain, and
liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional
altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type [342]
houses alongside their *ruka*, family life goes on within the *ruka* and [556]
the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space,
serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile.
Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* [291]
and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume
which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation.
Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepum* (a woolen
homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and
various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who
rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because [292]
it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete
Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or
when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which [182]
are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic [186]
of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing
chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural [241]
techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche
and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose
social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes
in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet intrastructural
changes indicating possible processual trends rather than
culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Arauca- 177
nians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few genera- 182
tions, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages wil 114
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177 187 114 105 persist only as memories" (1951:152). There can be no disagreement with this conclusion except to say that it sells the present short by not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with [423] breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1921,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings — when land was allotted in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciónes*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:15). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to *obliteration* of Mapuche society, rather than to intrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

648 423 We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their 105 land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright — communal title and individual usufructuary rights to land.

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[1] Cautinche in 1917 and Carrarrine in 1921 (Titiev, 1951:85, 73).

to land. Chilean political power can and has threatened time and again to repeal reservation law and relocate the Mapuche; in effect, to shatter the agrarian base of Mapuche society. This has not yet happened. But the threat has provided the Mapuche with a new symbol of common destiny which has political repercussions on the reservations. They stand together in opposition to legislative obliteration, and this has obvious implications for the maintenance of reservation social structure. 648 182 105

105 [177] [613] [182] [622] [618] Multikingroup integration at the political level has weakened apace with the declining importance of chieftainship vis-à-vis the Chilean government. Solidary relationships within the residential kingroup are diminishing in the area of economic activities, more specifically with regard to agricultural production. Membership in the latter group fails to offer the material security and benefits it formerly did, and crosscutting politico-economic interests have tended to divide the local kingroup into factions which sometimes override kinship affiliations and traditional obligations. Analysis reveals that factional rifts generally follow sublinear lines of segmentation and that loyalties and unities are most strongly felt among the closely related and more tightly integrated groups of kin which comprise a sublineage.

105 [177 621] 618 The residential kingroup as a whole, however, continues to function as a unit in noneconomic spheres of social organization, in which rights and obligations are defined with reference to membership in a localized descent group. The marriage system and the expression of ritual congregationalism are obvious examples of how residential [794] kingroups not only form solidary units committed to a system of moral values but are by the very nature of the moral order linked to homologous groups. This communality is still expressed even in the [476] area of greatest social change – the economy – and cooperative ventures are carried out on a reservation-wide basis, involving the building and upkeep of community roads, cemeteries, drainage ditches, schools, and so forth. In discussing the "breakdown" of Mapuche [182] society, it is unwise, therefore, to make vague reference to "changes" in economic organization, since public works must be distinguished from agricultural activities and, even with reference to the latter, distinctions should be made between market-oriented activities and those such as digging canals and clearing land which involve community effort. And in any evaluation of the importance of group [571] membership in Mapuche society, the plight of the socially detached person should be kept clearly in mind.

105 177 186 [619] The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1884.[2]

177 182 105 A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautin Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

[148] [522] [793] [592] [613] Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lofche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

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[175] [2] It might be argued that 1866 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche staged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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[illegible]

Polygyny has almost disappeared, but its former widespread and frequent practice contributed to the establishment of a framework for the matrilateral marriage system which remains characteristically Mapuche. There have been numerous changes of this order, but not "breakdown." There has been a reformation or a reintegration of Mapuche society, an accommodation which has already been made to the main pressures of reservation life. The protection afforded by the reservation system provides considerable structural flexibility for the working out of social stresses, and in other times there were other mechanisms. It is erroneous to label such modifications "acculturation," since, rather than result in the increased similarity of Chilean and Mapuche societies, they have contributed to the maintenance of Mapuche distinctiveness.

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In this book I have called "traditional" Mapuche society that reintegration of institutions which took form after pacification and the establishment of the reservation system of 1884. I view Mapuche society as having undergone a series of basic reintegrations during its long history. In two previous papers I have attempted to document this idea with reference to changes in the systems of kinship and marriage and residence (Faron, 1956 and 1961). Mapuche society has been affected by internal adjustments determined largely by factors emanating from without. It has been and continues to be conditioned by specific ecological adaptations or accommodations to the physical environment and by political and economic forces in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. These factors are important dependent variables in the structure of Mapuche society. The *raison d'être* of Mapuche society, the integrative force of first magnitude, is the structure of morality as this is given expression in the system of matrilateral marriage and multireservational ritual congregations. Within the context of the moral order Mapuche society lives in greatest isolation from its colonial setting, and it is with respect to moral values that sustained integration must be viewed. The structural integrity of Mapuche society is a compound of resistance and adaptation.

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I am not sure that a book of this sort should end with a prediction, and, at all costs, I do not wish to end on the facile note that Mapuche society is breaking down, disappearing, disintegrating, or being absorbed. I think I have shown that such predictions tend more to obscure the contemporary scene than add to one's understanding of what constitutes Mapuche society in its colonial setting. More than

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this, though, it even seems presumptuous to write that Mapuche society is breaking down under the impact of colonial pressures and then merely indicate the trends with reference to the rubrics of economics, politics, Christianity, and education. One need not have worked in Araucania to come to this sort of conclusion.

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If a study of this sort should end with a forecast, I prefer to end cautiously and gear my prediction to a modest statement in the context of a continuing Mapuche society in which economic accommodation is instrumental to further change. It seems that the Mapuche have attempted to solve a pressing subsistence problem by entering into relationships with Chilean farmers and businessmen. Renting their holdings or otherwise making them available to Chileans on a rental basis is regarded as especially risky, and the Mapuche have tended to frown on such arrangements. But they see less risk in working on a half-share basis with Chileans.

While the latter is not an entirely realistic point of view, the risk involved is not immediately apparent to the Mapuche. Meanwhile, they have the undoubted advantage of utilizing their land more productively on a half-share basis with some of the more technologically advanced Chilean farmers. But the advantages are by no means all in favor of the Mapuche, since Chilean farmers are, in their half-share arrangements, actually breaking through the "ring of iron" formed by the reservations, of which they complain so vociferously in the newspapers, in the national legislature, and in their personal dealings with the Mapuche. Their complaint is given ample political expression, as is the new Mapuche resistance to division and Chilean agrarian expansion. Further changes in Mapuche social structure will very likely result from the agrarian struggle over land. I hesitate to predict the outcome of the political aspect of this struggle, let alone its social consequences.

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SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucanía* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 3,000 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sections by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation. |3| |6| 36 {101}

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressures exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880-82, and their political-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to mold Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times. 17 14 {101} 177 172

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a 17

17 sometimes vociferous component of the Chilean population—a
17 regional, ethnically-conscious minority. Since 1884 the Chilean
648 government has introduced a series of changes in reservation law to the end of encouraging the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and become integrated into Chilean regional society as small farmers and rural laborers. Its efforts have been to little or no avail. In December 1961, the Chilean Congress passed a law designed to abolish the reservation system and allow for a period of grace during which the Mapuche may take stock of their new legal situation and make appropriate adjustments to the changed legal framework under which they must live. It remains to be seen what the eventual effects of this change in legal status may be. If some concession is made to Mapuche technological backwardness, if they are not strangled by tax laws and credit structures and do not lose their land through liens, forced sales, etc., it is reasonable to assume that they will endure as a functioning indigenous society for some decades to come, until their gradual amalgamation with Chilean regional society.

185 [illegible] Meanwhile, because of the reservation system of 1884, they are virtually sealed off from Chilean acquisition of their land. Their social and cultural systems are rooted in an agricultural economy. They constitute a nation of small-scale and technologically cumbersome dirt farmers. Their stabilization on small family-based reservations for a number of generations has seen the emergence of socially significant patrilineages, the warp of their social fabric being a distinctive system of lineage-based patrilateral alliance and ritual congregationalism which together constitute the sustaining fiber of Mapuche morality. (613)

186 [illegible] This book attempts to plumb what is so often called "cultural conservatism" or "cultural nationalism." There is an undeniable ethnic and cultural integrity observable among the Mapuche. The Mapuche are distinctive, strange. Their strangeness is most apparent in their public and private ritual. On further inspection, this strangeness comes through in a hundred different ways related to supernatural beliefs and associated activities. It is best understood at the local level of analysis, the reservation level of Mapuche society. Ritual performances—awn, nillatun, machitun, [illegible] (see below)—bind together

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding 121
of the place and nature of religious beliefs and 128
ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is 121
appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life 177
and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain 433
segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere
of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the 648
reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, 433
but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. 311
In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and
the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural [161]
resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions [648]
on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system
impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some
reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The [796]
greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed [794]
toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and desultory horticulture, which were consistent 241
with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of 177
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241 Mapuche-white hostilities, have been replaced by more intensive
•177 field farming which came about with the introduction of draft
178 oxen and wooden and steel plows, only after the imposition of
the reservation system and the stabilization or immobilization
of residential groups within rigidly defined reservation limits.
241 Field agriculture is man's work, for the most part, and involves
462 the cultivation of wheat, barley, ~~oats, potatoes,~~ and a few other
crops. Garden vegetables continue to be raised by women in
plots adjacent to households.

241 Mapuche agriculture, as it has taken form during the reservation period, may be characterized as a three-field system of planting and fallow combined with haphazard crop rotation. Much of the beneficial effect of rotation is lost, however, because the water supply is uncontrolled (and to that extent unpredictable), fertilizer is seldom or improperly used, and the succession of crops is inconsistent with the needs of the soil. Furthermore, Mapuche tend to sow very poor quality seed, and this in improper proportion to the area of land employed. Add to these considerations the fact that fallow fields are consistently overgrazed by sheep and leached by heavy rains and topsoil blown away by summer winds, and the basic technological
[434] difficulties of Mapuche farming emerge. Although all Mapuche
strive to raise crops for cash sale, profits are often nil and most
food is consumed by the grower. The extension of credit to
426 Mapuche (at perniciously high rates of interest) by Chilean
648 businessmen permits them to survive from one harvest to the
177 next. But this is a system by which the Mapuche continue to
lose their scarce crop reserves. It is a system presently forced upon them during the several leanest months of the year, those preceding the harvest. The Chilean government, partly because of a lack of funds and partly because of a lack of interest (or because of different interests), has proved unable to meliorate this condition. The extension of credit by the government, through the *Caja de Crédito*, for example, is nominal and wholly inadequate to the needs of Mapuche farmers.

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Labor Organization

622 The organization of labor has undergone significant change in
178 the last few decades. Historical sources indicate that chiefs
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munity according to their number and the estimated productivity of the soil. Recent historical literature indicates that the immediate postwar period was one of plenty for the Mapuche. This, apparently, is the actual "golden age" to which contemporary Mapuche refer, although they tend to place this time of abundance far back in the era of warfare and internal strife. Since the inauguration of the reservation system there have arisen a number of complicating factors with respect to land usage, economic orientation, inheritance rights, and related considerations. The picture has certainly changed during the past several generations. It is, however, the present conditions that are of importance to this study. 423 648

One of these complicating factors is the continued increase in Mapuche population and the pressure on land resources this has engendered in most parts of the indigenous zone. Many Mapuche have left the reservations to seek employment in Chilean and Argentine society. Most of these are young people, who are siphoned off annually from the growing reservation population. They become dislocated from the workaday world of the reservation, and they lose interest in the details of Mapuche problems of adjustment to Chilean social forces. But they maintain strong emotional bonds with those on the reservations and they comprise a distinctive Mapuche precipitate in Chilean towns and cities. While their reappearance on the reservations is infrequent and sporadic, and few of them take up reservation life, they remain a responsive diaspora, many of them only marginally adjusted to Chilean ways. They frequently arrange their visits home to coincide with one or another ritual performance in which they enjoy participating. But, for most of these émigrés, the full significance of Mapuche ritual has become attenuated with time, and the moral implications lose importance as awe for one's ancestors becomes diluted to mere respect. 167 177 464

Under Chilean law, these émigrés are entitled to participate in the inheritance of reservation land, especially if the reservation is scheduled for *división,* that is, legal division into severalty holdings and dissolution as a corporate reservation community. Sometimes, and usually depending on the closeness of the contacts they have maintained with their kinsmen on the reservation, émigrés are able to exercise such rights. More often 167 423 428 [602]

613 mined by birth. Lineages are shallow, seldom attaining a socially significant depth of more than six generations, but they have become very broad at their base—at least the dominant lineages. The breadth is largely a result of population expansion and localization brought about through the inauguration of the reservation system at the end of the last century. One of its features is that there are a large number of segmental lineages organized a single generation below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. These branches, which I will discuss more fully in the section on sublineation, tend to remain viable groups and seem less susceptible to fission than in the past. While the restrictions on physical mobility imposed by the reservation system are partly responsible for this condition, they alone could not account for it. For a fuller explanation of this phenomenon we must consider Mapuche cultural values, but I defer this discussion to later chapters.

It may be said that in all cases descent is traced back to socially important ancestors. In general, unimportant ancestors are forgotten, misplaced genealogically, or their characteristics fused with other ancestors to form composite personages. [618] The two most important ancestors of any residential kingroup are the founder of the maximal lineage, who has great moral and ritual significance as a link between his heirs and the gods, and his successor, the original chief of the reservation community, who has both ritual and economic significance for the living members.

613 182 In one sense, it may be argued that the shallow generational depth reflects the empirical limit of genealogical significance. Tracing back to the original chief is sufficient to validate land-use rights; tracing through this chief to the founder of the maximal lineage establishes one's mystical tie with Mapuche gods. In the context of the lineage system, therefore, we find the political, economic, and religious bastions of Mapuche society.

613 178 •177 621 For analytic purposes, distinctions should be made between different levels of lineage organization. This is necessary for the understanding of many facets of contemporary society. There is ample reason to believe that lineages, as corporate groups, are largely a product of reservation life and peaceful conditions. While the Mapuche have throughout their history been struc-

tured along lines of paternal descent, there is simply no evidence 613
to show that paternally related males cohered over long enough 178
periods of time to have formed sizeable residential groups 177
during the era of continual skirmishing against Spaniards and 621
Chileans. However, immobilization on reservations caused local membership to increase. It became of vital importance for this membership to be able to trace descent to the original founder, or the chief of the reservation, in order to validate individual rights to reservation land. This need coincides with the actual depth of Mapuche lineages. It is likely, however, that the social importance of such depth might be dependent on multiple factors, the one mentioned merely being the most obvious and most easily understood. The political and juridical implications of this will be discussed later. Here I merely note that there is some possibility that societies structured along the lines of Mapuche society—acephalous, segmentary social systems—contain lineages which tend toward segmentation at a shallow generational depth, in the absence of some constraining factor. If this is plausible, I would say further that the reservation system in Mapucheland causes the generational depth of lineages to stretch to the utmost, and that this depth could never have been so great in the past nor could it have engendered the formation of such large localized patrilineal groups.

Be that as it may, it is presently necessary to think of 613
Mapuche lineages as structured at several generational levels. In sociological terms, the most important of these is the maximal lineage, including all members of both sexes who trace descent to the lineage founder. Of course descent is traced through dead males of the lineage, and they too are included in the maximal lineage. Even some deceased females of the lineage have a position of social significance, though relatively limited. The next most important level is that of the localized lineage, composed of all living members in residence on the reservation. The localized lineage may be thought of as organized at a generational level below that of the original chief, provided living members of this generation reside in the community. Next are the sublineages, branches of the localized lineage which are organized at a depth of from two to three generations below that of the founder of the maximal lineage. Another

Ñenechen and the Pantheon

776 The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts [177] [128] denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

Let us say that *ñenechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *ñenechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Ñenechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *ñenechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to [191] note in this regard that *ñenechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *ñenechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

Ñenechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kume* (good) are used when *ñenechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *ñenechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

When there is identification, the peculiar qualities of these 776 minor or regional deities appear as attributes of *ñenechen*, or they themselves might be raised to the same level as *ñenechen*, the rationale being that these are simply different names for the same god. This again seems to be a syncretism resulting from 776 Christian influence, but it is, as always, problematical to 177 what extent the Mapuche really order their concepts of the godhead in a Christianized framework. On occasion, any deity may be described as *a ñenechen*, and the expression *wesa* (evil) *ñenechen* is also employed—all of which sheds doubt on any deep penetration of Christian ideas.

Ñenemapun is said to have made the earth and to rule the 776 earth, which is sometimes said of *ñenechen*. *Elchen* or *elchen chau* is spoken of as the "maker of the people" and the "father of the people." Sometimes *ñenemapun* and *elchen* are equated with *ñenechen*, most often not. It is said that one term is older than the others and therefore more correct, depending on the context in which they are used. The Mapuche frequently resort [829] to historico-linguistic explanations of this sort to reconcile—before the outsider—contradictory or overlapping terminology and concepts. Within these limits, there is a marked consistency with which the word *ñenechen* is used in Mapuche ritual expression.

The gods have wives and children. In most cases Mapuche [811] logic seems to attribute patriarchal qualities to the gods simply in order to round out the universe. Wives of the gods are never important figures, either in myth or during ceremonies. The same may be said for most of the sons of the gods (that gods have daughters seems no more than a logical Mapuche extension, for these are of no apparent mythical or ritual importance); but the sons of certain gods, especially the *karuhua*, are of great importance. *Ñenechen* is married to an old woman called *ñenechen kushe*, whose attributes are far inferior to those of her husband. *Pillan*, sometimes equated with Satan, the god of thunder or of the volcanoes, has *pillan kushe* beside him. Her powers are at most complementary to those of her husband. There are no female deities with great or special powers, unless one consider the familiar spirits of shamans as such. They

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776 of the gods to their notion of mortal women, suggesting that 562 they are not wholly reliable and are given to evil-talk or left-talk (respectively: *wesa* and *wele thungun*). In the case of [754] goddesses, this does not imply sorcery, as it tends to among mortal women, but it means that they influence their divine spouses not in the best interests of mankind. As a reflection of the human situation, in which in-married women are suspect of practicing sorcery on the reservation, the logic of this belief is compelling. It certainly serves as a handy explanation of why even ritually perfect ceremonies may fail to achieve the desired results. While it places, or tends to place, the male gods wholly on the side of good and thus establishes their superiority over the forces of evil and over the distaff side of the divine couples, it nevertheless attributes considerable persuasive power to the female half of the supernatural world. Again, this reflects the relative status of males (agnates) and females (in-married women) on the reservations.

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Ancestral Spirits, Authentic and Mythical

Spirits of the dead may enter into active and sustained relationships with the living and, in so doing, some of them may become contaminated agents of *kalku*. Most ancestral spirits, however, are conceived of as being relatively inactive with regard to the day-to-day affairs of the living. Indeed, they are generally feared when they depart from this traditional role of inactivity. They are pictured as living in the shadow world of afterlife, in surroundings of abundance and ease. They must be propitiated in public or private ritual. They are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* on behalf of their responsible heirs. Usually, they are considered troublesome should they return to earth, and they may even be driven from the family precincts by proper ritual (*amulpellun*) so that they will not fall victim to *kalku*. Among ancestral spirits, those of greatest importance are the former "chiefs"—elders and founders of lineage groups—who are powerful benefactors of mankind. They walk the earth in the company of the gods, expecially the *karuhua*, and are ever watchful, on the alert to protect and aid their living kinsmen.

769 When the Mapuche speak of their departed chiefs (*caciques*), 622 it is obvious that they have fallen into the prevailing Chilean 177 mode of expression.

794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 797 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the 192
conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony. 195

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger 775
about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the 789
ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially [754]
dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*.
This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are 775
responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, 775
the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those 192
employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no 195
special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are 775
conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influ- [177]
ence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chileans.

754 house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle,
775 usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard
its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away
[756] both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some
shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and
to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

775 The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed
• [177] by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

774 The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one
775 or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish
concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by
these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in
connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

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[114] [1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

tools, they are able to contribute to the venture. That most 571
participants come from within the region or ritual congregation 517
is understandable in terms of geographic proximity and communication, 526
not in terms of moral compulsion. Secular interests
have become more diffuse and less related to group membership 476
than they appear to have been in the past, and, if anything, secular *kawin* involve more heterogeneous groups than ever before in Mapuche history. This is largely due, I feel, to changes in work patterns, reservation *esprit de corps*, and a trend toward "unstructured" (a complete misnomer) leisure.

But this is certainly not the case with fertility ceremonies and 796
funeral rites. The great *ñillatun* ceremony and the compelling 571
awn observances serve to unite the Mapuche before *ñenechen* 182
and their ancestors. Heterogeneity with regard to the composition of these ceremonies is strictly limited by congregational boundaries. Death and burial services intensify the kindred feelings among the several lineages involved. They also unite in sympathy (a psychological expression of social obligation) persons of unrelated households and without blood or marriage ties, and reaffirm family friendships rooted in long contact and local residence. In this sense, both *ñillatun* and *awn* are parochial, their conduct based on trust and expressed in terms of obligation. They serve to reinforce solidary relationships among reservation groups within a traditionally defined locality, even though their conduct rests on lineage rights and duties imbedded in the structure of religious morality.

Death and Burial Rites: Awn

Traditional belief holds that death is caused by supernatural 761
intervention, specifically, that *wekufe* cause death, usually at the behest of a *kalku*. This explanation covers all situations, accidental death (e.g. in connection with falling off a horse, drowning, etc.) being regarded merely as one manner in which the forces of evil operate and, therefore, not accidental at all. But "bad death" (*wesa l'an*) usually refers to the fact that a person died
violently and away from home. All deaths, whatever their [177]
nature, are associated with evil, and a growing awareness of modern medicine has had little effect in weakening traditional
beliefs in supernatural causation. The syringe and the aspirin 000

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
•177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold
of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be performed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital resi-
591 dence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen.* The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are not even supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the burial ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. No attempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body fluid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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775 The spirit does not immediately rise to "heaven," nor does it automatically descend to the 764 underworld (which, in any case, is usually viewed as a witches' cave, or *reñü*). What happens to the newly released spirit depends on how the living mourners behave, how the ceremony is conducted. And, if the ceremony is not conducted properly, as is more often the case at the funeral of a child, the corpse itself may be used by a witch in creating another malevolent spirit. This is the usual explanation given about the creation of *anchimallen*, the child-sized ghost which is fabricated out of all or part of the bones of a corpse which has been literally spirited [761] away by a witch. Death, therefore, is not viewed as a lightening-quick transformation in which the spirit is instantly wafted to its final resting place, the vile body remaining to be disposed of. There is nothing vile about the body. The funeral is a state of transition for the spirit and, if properly handled, a step toward eternal comfort in the afterworld.

764 On the morning of the fourth day after death, the corpse is carried out of the house and set up on a *llañi*, which has been built to receive it in a nearby field, thus initiating the second phase of the ceremony and concluding the wake (*kurikawin*). [537] This part of the ceremony may be referred to as *weupin*, signifying that the most important aspect of it is the set of orations over the coffin, in which the praises of the dead are spoken both to the living participants and to their most [822] attentive ancestors. The coffin is painted black, the traditional [777] color of death and mourning, is decorated with garlands of flowers and sacred leaves (*canelo, maqui,* and others), and, if [797] the most influential relatives are nominally Catholic, sometimes surrounded by lighted candles. Either a large wooden cross or a carved effigy-pole is placed at the head of the coffin, which is facing toward the east. This emblem is carried to the graveyard later and placed at the head of the grave. The display of the [574] deceased in the open field, in conjunction with the eating and drinking feast that takes place on this occasion, signalizes the end of the wake. The spirit of the deceased has not yet departed for the afterworld, but the chances of its being captured by the forces of evil have diminished.

764 594 On this, the appointed day for final burial, relatives assemble in the early hours of the morning and begin the preparation of

621 more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure
613 from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly)
consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data
794 about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have
[128] confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as
models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent
groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal
613 principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to
178 have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups
[794] with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We
may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during
621 the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation
613 system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-
582 receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained
178 marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this
system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on
177 an interhousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and
these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations
[166] because household units would split and their members move
considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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the present matrilateral system, but the change was not effected 582
from one day to the next, nor even in a single decade, with 178
respect to total Mapuche society. 177•

The most significant way in which to consider marriage 166
practices in relation to the total order of society is with respect 582
to the groups regularly involved in sustained relationships. Of 621
most importance here, for the structure of morality, is the fact 613
that many of the groups tied most closely together in marriage
also comprise segments of the same ritual congregation, and
without doubt the present-day configuration has its basis in the
nexus between matrilateral marriage and religious ritual.

The verbalized ideal marriage form in Mapuche society is that 582
of a man with his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral (183)
cross-cousin marriage). Actually, there are few instances in
which a man marries a real mother's brother's daughter, but the
expression of marriage in these terms may be taken to symbolize
the propriety of marriage and the closeness of the units involved.
What actually occurs, however, is that a man marries a woman [601]
who falls into the classificatory category of *ñuke*, a term used to
designate all nubile females of wife-giving patrilineages of which
a real mother's brother's daughter is but one. As I have written 582
elsewhere (1962), there exists a structure of fixed wife-giving 613
and wife-receiving groups throughout Mapucheland, linked by
matrilateral preference in a system which precludes the direct
exchange of women. I would like to comment further on the
relationship of such groups within the general framework of
congregationalism and the moral order.

In effect, there is a chain of brother-sister ties linking together 613
a seemingly infinite number of patrilineages, there being systemic 602
limitations on the ramifications of this linkage only from 593
an individual participant's point of view. As an extension of this
brother-sister linkage, there are reciprocal sets of rights and
obligations which precipitate out in the offspring. The latter
forms the area of social relationships in which courtship and
marriage and considerations of incest and exogamy are most
important. 794

In Diagram IV schematic arrangement of intermarrying 621
lineages (1–34) and multilineal ritual congregations (I–IV) 613
indicates how marriage units fall with respect to ritual congrega- 582

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 117]

756 *machi*. The latter[1] is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role,
the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial
incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on
[844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
[554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows
so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the
wekufe are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is
delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The
young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see
a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea
did not cease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain
would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not
[648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
[199] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have
worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions
are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not
already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the
machi. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth,
all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the
following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering
after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground,
evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock,
and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned
already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and
hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree,
having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these
dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person
becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic
curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken
lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without
good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will
clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This
is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1] [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

Seven: CONSTANCY AND CHANGE IN RITUAL AND BELIEF

771 182 121 THROUGHOUT this book I have maintained the view that religious belief and action comprise a unitary system separable only in the interest of sociological analysis, a commonplace classroom dictum. But I hope to have gone beyond the mere assertion that ideas and behavior have some relationship to each other, and I have tried to show specifically that in Mapuche society there is a complementarity of sets of symbolic values and sets of related segments of the social system, a complementarity between the ideological system and the structure of social action. The relatedness of belief and action makes for a continuing balance among the several segments of the total social structure, and constitutes the rules of Mapuche society and their expression.

121 777 179 178 [848] The social and natural environment of the Mapuche have indeed changed significantly since pacification and the establishment of the reservation system. New relationships with Chileans and the restrictions on land—essentially external changes—have resulted in internal cultural and social modifications among the Mapuche which, elicited as adaptive responses to colonialism, have on the whole been successful. And these internal, adaptive modifications are of the sort consistent with or in adherence to traditional structures of Mapuche society and cultural values. It is in this sense, therefore, that I speak of constancy and yet consider change. There has been no radical change in belief or action during the last half century, that is, after the initial accommodation to reservation life had been effected.

121 177 178 In considering the problem of social and cultural change, the simple enumeration of substitutions, disappearances, and additions, and a partial interpretative evaluation of their importance are relatively meaningless outside the context of a structural-functional analysis. Statements or conclusions to the effect that "education," "Christianity," "money economy," and all sorts of

other things, customs, and pressures are working their effect on the Mapuche way of life are either too vague to be the distillation of field research or are difficult to evaluate insofar as they are made without reference to a total structural context which serves to control judgment.

I am not committed to equilibrium, yet I view Mapuche society as having experienced a state of relative equilibrium for at least the last fifty years. This is not a static conceptualization of society. A society by definition constitutes a set of systems in dynamic relationship of an institutionalized nature. Rather this is a limiting statement with respect to massive random variations of activity and belief, and it by no means denies change or fails to evaluate it.

Mapuche cultural and social equilibrium is relative to the on-going reservation system. The ecological adjustments this system implies are precisely that fundament which serves to stabilize or regularize social relationships. Contacts with Chileans do not by any means always disturb these relationships, and the social relationships are shored up by the ideological system which sanctions institutionalized behavior. This kind of reasoning will be recognized immediately as that peculiar circular vacuity for which social anthropology is sometimes chided. I do not deny it has shortcomings. However, the mutually supportive relationships of social institutions and cultural values may certainly be interpreted to considerable advantage in this way. This circle of relationship may be broken, but without a conceptualization of a total social and cultural system, who is to say where, when, how, or even if, a break takes place? Some of the reported indications of breakdown and transition among the Mapuche are amenable to quite different interpretations when a total structural analysis has been made. And this, unfortunately, is an area of inquiry which is frequently slighted by anthropologists who have been concerned with reconstructing Mapuche history and comparing the nebulous past with an imperfect impression of the present in a manner which purports to adumbrate the future.

I find that alternative ways of life have been consistently rejected by the Mapuche, to the extent that these alternatives have been in conflict with the traditional system of belief and

12 Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

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action. In considering what kinds of modifications have taken place among the Mapuche I wish mainly to inject a trace of complexity into a subject matter which is too often handled along deceivingly simple lines. I am suspicious of the signposts of transition or breakdown pointed out along the routes my predecessors have followed. When making learned guesses about the future of Mapuche society it is well to remember that the doom forecast by Latcham and Guevara around the turn of the century was simply rekindled, perhaps with a greater sense of urgency, by McBride in the 1930's and reiterated by Titiev in the 1950's. One is jarred by the fact that the Mapuche continue to exist as a vigorous social and cultural entity, that they have long ceased abandoning their reservation communities, that they have become more active in national political life in defense of their traditional life, and that their unifying system of religious morality continues to shore up concerted resistance to social and cultural change.

[546] Changes which are of greatest significance for an understanding of Mapuche society and culture are those which have resulted from a society-wide accommodation to Chilean colonization of the frontier region and the restrictions of the reservation policy of the Chilean government. It would seem that differential criteria are needed in order to discuss these changes, to classify them, and to evaluate their relative significance. In two rather recent studies of Mapuche society and culture (Titiev, 1951; Hilger, 1957), this has not been done with much regard to detail, possibly because of the great complexity of Mapuche-Chilean-Western relationships.[5] Nor shall I attempt it here. I beg off on grounds that this is not my especial interest and that those with acculturational interests might well shoulder the burden, and that much of this sort of inquiry is speculatively futile. But there are a few obvious ways in which the relative influences of different factors of change (e.g., the dissemination of plow agriculture, the diffusion of the Spanish language, the restriction of resources under the reservation system) and their processes (i.e., simply the course of change itself, with respect to

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[5] Titiev notes differential influences on Mapuche culture but makes no systematic use of this conceptual tool.

this instance to belief and associated action) may be studied, 121
and, given a greater commitment to this interest, a number of 772
rather precise ways of measuring could be applied. 178

In a preliminary way, I would suggest that an analytic distinction be made between cultural (for present purposes, mainly ideological) changes and social (i.e. institutionalized action) changes, and that there might also be a need, on occasion, to distinguish between structural and organizational aspects of constancy and change. Among other advantages, such distinctions would enable the observer, not to mention the reader, to evaluate the relation between culture and society, which would be an improvement over the notion that society is a part of culture and that social phenomena are adequately treated as cultural traits.

Another basic distinction should be made between changes of radical departure from Mapuche tradition and those consistent with the binding framework of Mapuche institutions and values. This distinction would seem helpful in the clarification of concepts such as "breakdown" and "transition." I am convinced that such distinctions are possible or may be made most fruitfully only following a structural-functional analysis of society and a systematic consideration of cultural values.

II

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Religious belief and ritual seem prone to change in a manner consistent with other changes in social structure. This says nothing about the rate of change with respect to either belief or action, but it pays more than lip service to their functional relationship.

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Mapuche society has certainly undergone substantial change if one compares the warring era to the reservation period. Peaceful conditions were established after the rebellion of 1880-82, and the reservation system went into effect after 1884. It might be said that field agriculture replaced warfare as the main occupation of men and, as a result of various circumstances (by no means a direct result of a commitment to agriculture), the Mapuche find themselves on the fringe of a regional market-oriented economy.

[241]
[726]

The elementary family household is emerging or has already 000

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The elementary-
177 family household is emerging or has already
178 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
594 tion on small multilineage reservations, in an area considerably
613 reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
[433] corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
[582] matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But to say simply that "the family" has become more important in Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the absence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
177 or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
178 ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
622 change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
554 nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
[769] kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably enhanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the past. His political and economic leadership, though changed, has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and *awn* to the extent that these assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
796 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
769 than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
[794] today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congregation which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system. The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief.

social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural content is belief. 000

What about religious belief—has it changed commensurate to ritual action, as ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I feel that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from patri-organization, marriage preferences, ancestral propitiation, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transitional, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater rather than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that more attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the counterforces to change which condition its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in as few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious morality. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "commonsense" reconstruction of odd bits of fact and fancy. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 142–52).[8] 178 121 771 [177] [114]

Radcliffe-Brown suggested that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that [78]

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[8] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's avowed commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs," (147) and, with respect to the central feature of Mapuche morality, ancestor propitiation, ". . . no systematic rites of propitiation are carried out" (106).

178 Mapuche evidence bears this out. Nor do I feel that this is a
121 fair statement, or at least a useful one, of the problem of ritual
771 constancy and change, unless the specific factors of change are
78 considered in some detail. If we look to missionary influence,
the farthest outpost of directed culture change, we find that the
177 dissemination of Christian belief and action has been in rather
178 sterile ground. All Mapuche ethnologists would agree to this, as
121 would most missionaries working in Mapucheland, including
771 those who are not averse to accepting formal conversion as an
777 indication of eventual spiritual conversion. There has been, in
78 effect, no transition from traditional religious institutions to the
Christian systems of belief and ritual action. Had there been, I feel that we might be able to show that ritual action on the reservations had changed more slowly than belief (bearing out Radcliffe-Brown's hypothesis), and that, as with the more "acculturated" Mapuche individuals, people would continue to participate in traditional rites with less and less enthusiasm or conviction, until the rites themselves were no longer performed. But this has not happened. There continues to be a coherency between belief and ritual on the reservations. Where there is such coherency, regardless of possible departures from tradition (largely a matter for historical inquiry), it is relatively meaningless to speak of a set of physical activities changing at a slower rate than a set of mental activities on which they are presumably based. When a new system is introduced, say Christianity, and effectively replaces an old system, then belief and action might change simultaneously, if the action becomes reinterpreted in the new ideological framework. This is rather different, though, from change within any established set of beliefs and actions, and involves the substitution of one set of values for another. This substitution of set for set I would consider an example of radical change.

121 Idea systems are conventionally discussed, insofar as they are discussed at all, under the rubric of *culture*. Action systems are taken to constitute *society*. Neither is separable from the other, except for the purpose of analysis (for which I feel the separation is absolutely necessary), since culture and society are simply two different abstractions from what social scientists consider reality—human behavior. Now, Mapuche ritual values,

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stand Mapuche responses to ritual—sociologically or psychologically conceived—one must understand the ancestor-based structure of morality. Without the overall view that system analysis affords, it is easy to misinterpret a traditional, age-based role of marginal or limited participation in ritual activities as one of "growing indifference." And in line with this, to deny the systematic propitiation of ancestral spirits, as Titiev does, would seem to indicate a grave misunderstanding of Mapuche society and culture, in transition or otherwise.

167 178 177 [161]

Let us take another tack in approaching the matter of constancy and change. Given the agricultural technology of the Mapuche, they are faced with a problem of overpopulation. One accommodation to this problem is the removal of excess population by the annual migration of substantial (unrecorded) numbers of young people to the cities and towns and farms of Chile and Argentina. Most of these migrants never resettle on the reservations from which they came. What about them? How might the existence of this diaspora influence the judgment of the anthropologist? Titiev touches on this matter in terms of cultural values, but his remarks seem directed especially to those Mapuche remaining on the reservations. He writes:

[181]

> *Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one. . . . At present the old incentives and rewards* [*warfare honors, polygynous status, and other phenomena associated with pre-reservation days*] *for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouse little interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and compete with Chileans* (1951:144).

Leaving aside the judgments about psychological orientations in the warring era, which almost defy verification, much of this observation would seem applicable to the Mapuche individuals who have already left the reservations. No longer part of reservation life, they are nevertheless not readily accepted into Chilean society, except on a level of employment and social status which is general unsatisfactory. They are in something of

167 a cultural and social limbo, and express feelings of futility. In
178 their case, one might say that there has been a loss of traditional
177 values, at least uncertainty about them, and a lack of comprehension of the new schemes which Chilean society grudgingly offers. For them, change has been radical.

000 But what about the estimated 200,000 or so reservation-dwelling Mapuche? Is Titiev's a fair interpretation of how they feel and how they felt and of the emotional course they have run during several generations of reservation life? Did this supposed sense of futility begin with final military defeat, or did it result in defeat? Did it manifest itself in the first generation after defeat, or is it a more recent phenomenon? How much spadework must be done before we can expect answers to questions like these? And how much needed information is actually undiscoverable? To build a judgment about "culture change" on this sort of speculation, especially with its predictive overtones, is most unsound.

18 What have the Mapuche been doing since 1884? I suggest
177 that we may well be content with the simple observation that
177 they have been rebuilding their society. One of the "honors"
178 accruing to contemporary Mapuche farmers is a full belly; thrift, up to a point, means a small amount of cash on hand with which to buy necessities and a few luxuries. Under these conditions must we expect the Mapuche to imitate Chileans? Is this a measure of their happiness or despair? In what sense do Mapuche compete with Chileans? What, indeed, does competition mean to a Mapuche farmer? If imitation and competition are to serve as guides to understanding Mapuche society, we are at least obliged to justify this expectation, and to show that we are not injecting values of our own (or those transplanted by Chileans) into our judgment of the state of affairs in Mapucheland. Why should the Mapuche save money and why should they be interested in thrift, and what does it mean if they are not? To my mind, their indifference to these things indicates an absence of a Western rationale of economic values, the opposite of "breakdown," "transition," or even "futility." The Mapuche are interested in making certain limited changes in the material features of their life, which their poverty and reservation status inhibit. On balance, though, a Mapuche wants to live the Mapuche way of life, within the limiting and comforting

framework of traditional values and institutions, and wants to 18
change at his own pace—and mainly with respect to the 177
acquisition of economic goods. Whatever the cumulative effect 178
of this attitude might be on Mapuche social structure and
cultural values, *it is* yet to be observed.

That religion is one of the forces most suited to mold the 771
world view of individuals is recognized both by the Mapuche 178
and by Chilean missionaries. The failure of the Christian ideal 177
to take hold among the Mapuche is testimony to the successful 797
integration of Mapuche society and its system of values, for
religion provides the framework in which the general inculcation
of traditional values, attitudes, and procedures is accomplished.
Four hundred years of missionary work, economic imperialism,
and even ultimate military defeat have failed to crack the hard
shell of Mapuche religious morality. The Araucanian language, 197
in which these values are expressed (and which for this reason is 177
banned in the reservation schools), is still the language of the 178
home. Even Chilean merchants have learned to figure accounts [439]
in Araucanian, and they inject Araucanian words into their sales
talk. All preschool age Mapuche and most adult women are [191]
essentially monolingual in Araucanian, the language of thought
for almost every Mapuche. Children are jokingly called "old
people" because they know little or no Spanish. And during and
after the few years of formal reservation school, youngsters are
reeducated at home. There is a general rejection of Chilean 177
values and procedures, patent in an undercurrent of constant 178
ridicule and in a strong feeling of pan-Mapuche, ethnic solidar- 186
ity, vis-à-vis Chilean society. Even in the sphere of economic
activity, some of the traditional ceremonial aspects of economic
life persist. Mapuche ritual appears both as an expression of this [78]
social and ethnic solidarity and as its single most stabilizing and
integrating force.

III

Religious beliefs centering in ancestral propitiation largely 577
define normative behavior and constitute therefore moral rules 178
of Mapuche society. It might be said that a function of ritual 771
belief is the establishment of limits to possible variation in social action. Where beliefs persist or change in a manner consistent with traditional values, the social institutions which reflect these beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

000 beliefs accordingly persist or change consistent with traditional structures.

177 178 [871] [181] The negligible influence of Christianity (including the secular educational by-products of reservation elementary schools) means no less than that the structure of Mapuche values has remained relatively intact over a long period. The clear corollary of this is that Mapuche social institutions have been, since the major accommodation to reservation living, in a state of relative equilibrium. This, after all, is implicit in the concept of "system." But it is also a dynamic concept which does not deny change or discount it. In the case of the Mapuche, social dynamics have not been characterized by random selection of alternative beliefs and contingent activities. There has been a processual consistency with respect to traditional beliefs and action. This temporal continuity of structure is, of course, what has served to distinguish Mapuche from Chilean society. It is most apparent, because most dramatic, in the area of ritual, but it ramifies throughout the total ideological and social structure. 000 Until the ideological orientation of the Mapuche undergoes radical change, we might expect that Mapuche society will remain relatively stable. Should the social and natural environment change radically (e.g. as a result of disbanding the reservations under Chilean political pressure) we need not necessarily expect Mapuche society to crumble. What accommodations would be made in the event of radical external changes would of course depend on the amount of pressure exerted by the Chilean government. This is a purely empirical matter. What is known of Mapuche émigrées (living in cities, on farms, both in Chile and Argentina) and of those Mapuche continuing to live on what used to be reservation land (since divided into severalties) provides only a dim and partial view of what the future might hold. After all, approximately a quarter of a million people are involved. If the Mapuche are allowed to "determine" their own course, it is expectable that the route they choose will be rather different from that planned for them by the Chilean government. Whatever the institutional accommodation, it will of necessity be complex. And unless one is satisfied with making almost meaninglessly superficial predictions, the outcome is unknowable at the level of inquiry attempted in this book.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873

SH5 Tehuelche SH5

Araucanians SG4

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726 and captives, the Indians will at all times fight desperately, regardless of odds, and show little or no fear of death; and the survivors will never leave their wounded or killed on the field. The Indians in the service of the Government, mustering about fifty lances, and residing chiefly on the south side, are commanded by a man named Linares, previously mentioned as living at San Xaviel; he receives the pay and rations of an officer in the army, of what rank I do not know, and all his men regularly receive pay and rations. These are supposed to act as gendarmerie; but although Linares and his four brothers are probably to be depended on, I doubt very much if the rank and file could be trusted to remain true to their colours in the event of a united raid taking place, such as that organised by Lenquetrou.

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177 They have all acquired, by their lengthened residence in the neighbourhood of bad characters, a rowdy, swaggering disposition not generally, according to my experience, common amongst uncivilised Indians; and frequent losses of cattle occur to people settled on the south side, no doubt attributable to these dubious allies and defenders.

000 Between San André and Carmen the winding course of the river twice approaches and recedes from the barranca, forming two successive wide alluvial plains, partly settled and partly in natural pasture, in one of which a mill turned by water-power was at this time in course of erection, the existing corn-mills being cumbrous, old-fashioned affairs worked by horses.

The barranca then abuts on the river, except in one place, where there is a farm and wharf used for loading salt, forming a cliff close to the river bank as far as Carmen. Above this farm and wharf an old fort, apparently untenanted, and armed with one gun, is situated; and away to the north-east, in an indentation in the plain, lies a large salina from which the salt is extracted.

From the immediate neighbourhood of this fort a fine view of the valley below presented itself: right in front, or